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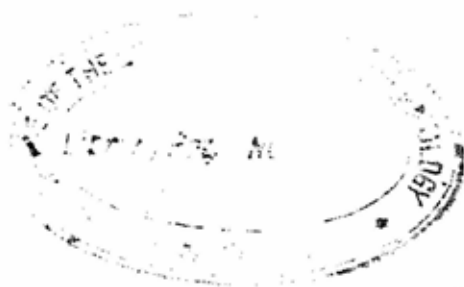
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THE GANGAS OF TALKAD

A
Monograph on the History of Mysore
from the
Fourth to the Close of the Eleventh Century

BY

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PREFACE

THE object of this book is to enable the student or the general reader to obtain in the compass of a small volume a picture of the political, religious and social life of the people of Mysore during the period of seven centuries from the fourth to the close of the eleventh century. With this end in view, an attempt is made throughout, to keep close to the original authorities, wherever that has been possible, and where conjecture is inevitable, to summarise the best modern criticism. Unimportant details are kept out as far as possible, and stress is laid on the broad principles which constitute the true interest in Mysore history and which shall not mislead, if the reader pursues the subject afterwards. So far as the political history of the origin and early development of the Ganga dynasty is concerned, I have only given a summary of the information that is available on the subject, for I am fully aware that the ablest investigators and scholars differ widely in their views and fresh evidence may at any hour upset tentative conclusions and force us to seek new interpretations of the data.

I have made a very liberal use in this work, of the Gazetteers of Lewis Rice and C. Hayavadana Rao and the valuable reports of the distinguished Archæologist Mahamahopadhyaya R. Narasimhachar, and if I have borrowed unconsciously from other sources without acknowledgment, it is because what one has read becomes part of the furniture of one's own mind.

I am deeply under obligation to Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D. Litt. (Lond.), Professor of History and Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, for suggestions and kindly help-

ing me with blocks and photos which I have used in this volume ; Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastry, M.A., University. Professor of Indian History and Archæology, Madras, for his kind perusal of my manuscript and valuable suggestions ; Mr. S. Srikantiah, B.A., B.L., Editor of the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, for the help and encouragement he gave me in the work and for kindly publishing my articles on 'Religion and Architecture' in the Journal.

I am indebted for the preparation of an Index, the correction of many slips and the supplying of many omissions to my friends and colleagues in the University. I must especially mention my old friends Messrs. V. T. Tirunarayana Iyengar, M.A., Lecturer in Sanskrit, M. Yamunacharya, M.A., Lecturer in Philosophy, and H. L. Hariyappa, M.A., Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Mysore ; and Mr. K. V. Lingappiah for various kinds of help rendered.

The faults of the work are my own, and I express regret for their occurrence in the volume. 'D' marks are not used, and uniformity in the spelling of proper names is perhaps not maintained, and certain errors of omission and commission have crept in, and these could have been avoided if there was enough time for another revision of the manuscript and for a more careful scrutiny of the proofs.

Bangalore,

24th January 1936.

M. V. K. R.

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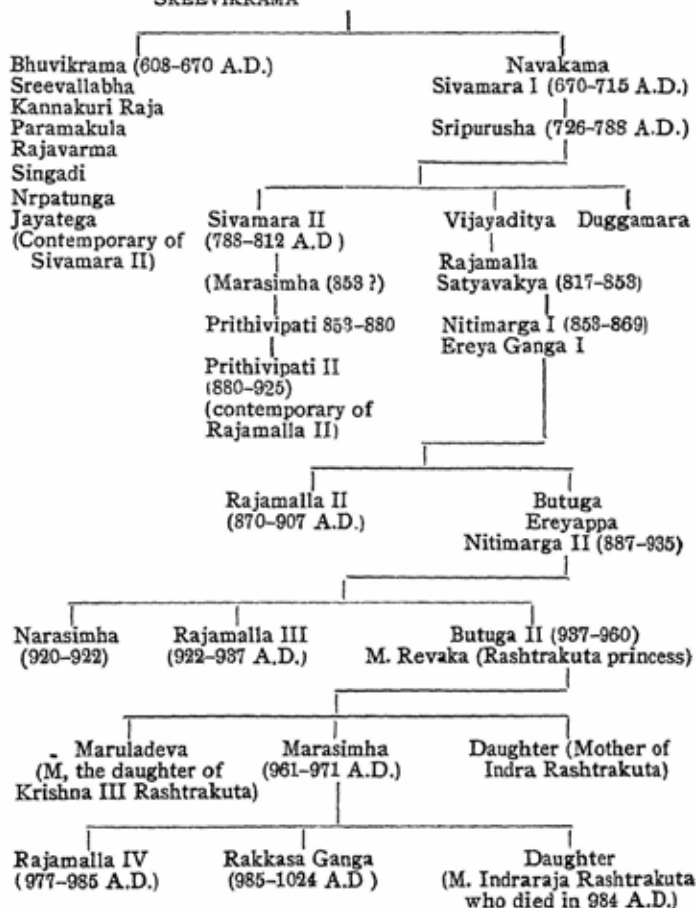
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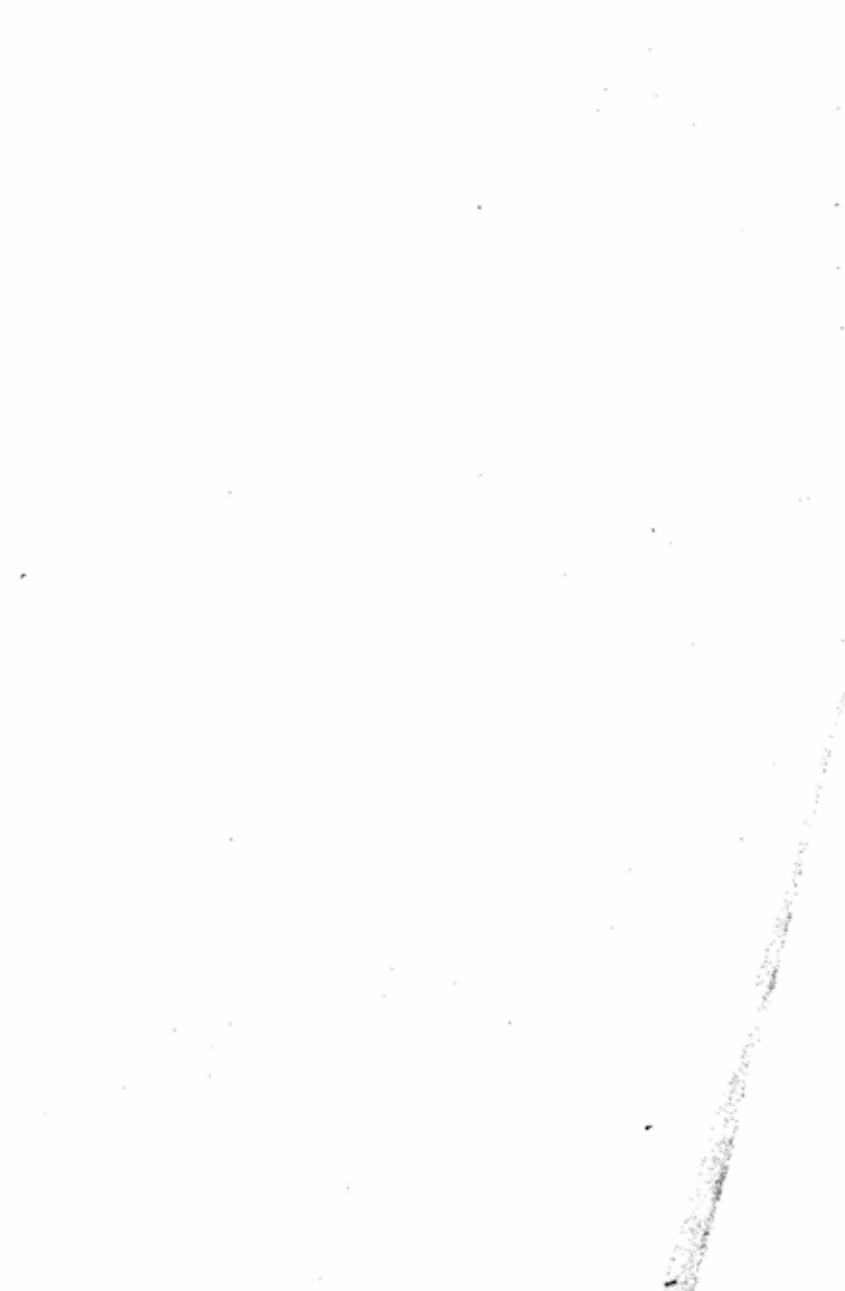
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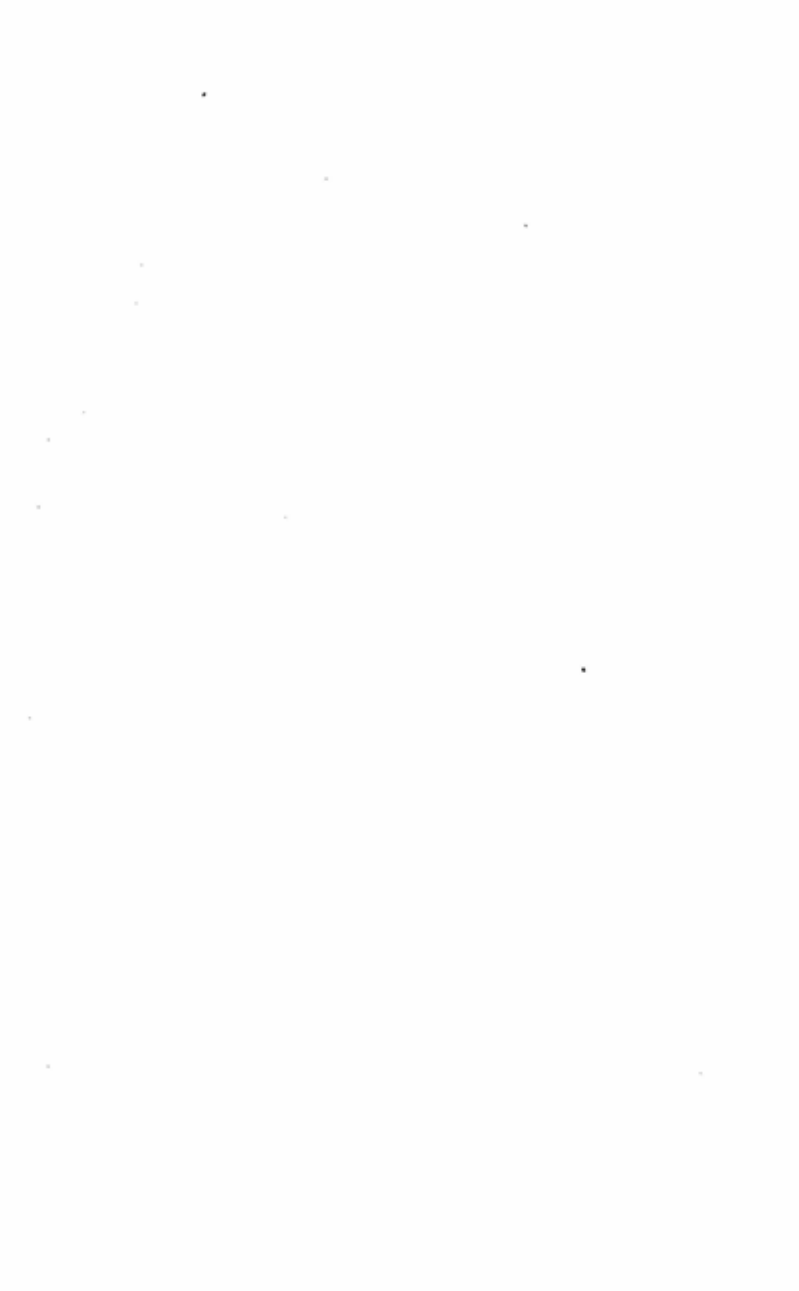
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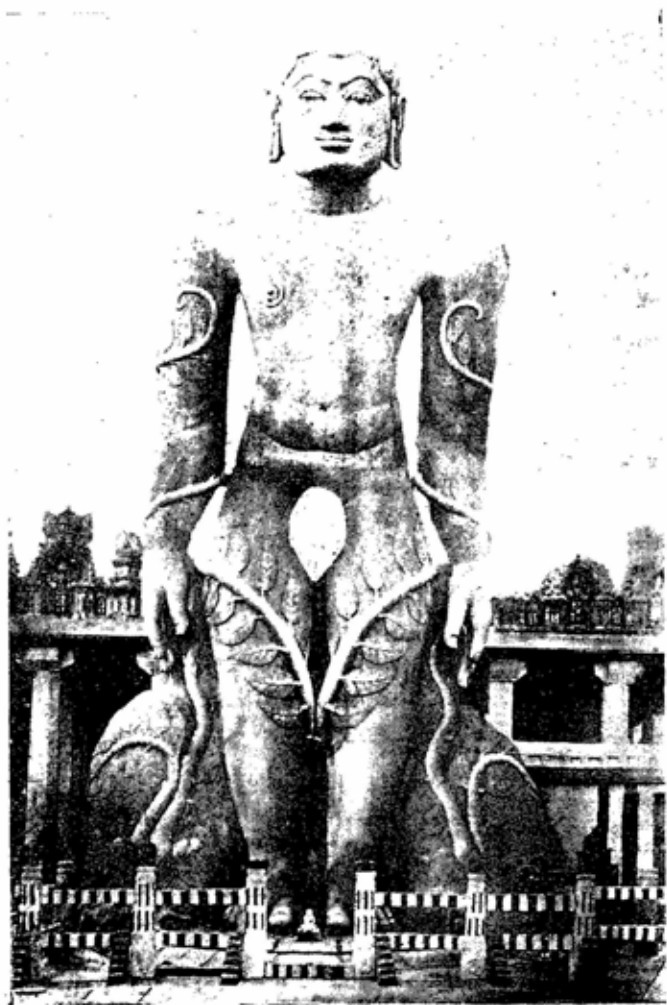
GANGA GENEALOGY

KONGANI VARMAN I (340-400 A.D.?)
 MADHAVA II (400-435 A.D.?)
 HARIVARMA (436 A.D.?)
 VISHNUGOPA
 TADANGALA MADHAVA (450-500 A.D.?)
 AVINITA (520-540 A.D.?)
 DURVINITA (540-600 A.D.?)
 SREEVIKRAMA









Gomatesvara

THE GANGAS OF TALKAD

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGINS AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE GANGAS

OF the ancient dynasties of South India, the Gangas were one of the most illustrious who ruled over the greater part of the Mysore country, then known by the wellnigh forgotten name Gangavadi which survives only in the designation of a community of Mysore people known to this day as the *Gangadikar Vokkaligars*. The rise and fall of the dynasty of the Gangas mark an important but neglected chapter of Mysore history. A brief reference to the general historical condition of the country on the eve of the advent of the Gangas fits into the general mosaic of the history of India. The decline of the Satavahana Empire in the first quarter of the third century A.D. loosened the bonds which had restrained the disruptive forces, always ready to operate in the country, and allowed them to produce their normal result, a medley

of petty states with ever varying boundaries and engaged in internecine war. The aggressions of the Kshatrapas on the Andhra territory from the North and Northwest, and of the Vakatakas from the centre of the Deccan, deprived the Satavahanas of the most integral part of their empire. The Eastern and South-eastern portions of their empire similarly came under the sway of the Ikshvakus, Salankayanas and Vishnukundins.¹ The Chutas² and the Nagas³ who had claimed relationship with the ruling family of the Satavahanas and achieved great political distinction by wars against the Sakas and Kshatrapas established their independence in the south-western region of the empire.

The Andhras were opposed in the south by the Pallavas who extended their power gradually in all directions and acquired the territory of Tondaimandalam. Virakucha Pallava, with a view to develop and consolidate his territory, married an heiress of the south-eastern block of Andhra territory and daughter of Siva-skanda Naga, a very powerful and influential prince of Mysore, and acquired control over all the dominions including Kuntala which Siva-

¹ I. A. XII. P. 230.

² E. P. Ind. VII P. 51.

³ E. I. XIV. 153.

skanda ruled. Later it became the settled policy of the Pallavas who had acquired a great kingdom by dynastic alliances, to subdue neighbouring powers and enforce local acquiescence of their overlordship.

The events connected with the history of the Gangas require to be pieced out and fitted into a mosaic extracted as they are from inscriptions which are sometimes vague indicators of historical events. The difficulty of the historian is further enhanced by the highly controversial chronological framework in which the events narrated in these pages are set. Looking back on the periods mentioned in legends and traditions as well as in the inscriptions of Nagarjunakonda,¹ it may be observed that a famous family of kings ruled north of the river Krishna in Andhradesa. This Ikshvaku dynasty seems to have been prominent there between 225 A. D. and 345 A. D. The Ganga founders who claim descent from Ikshvaku Vamsa may really have belonged to this dynasty which not only succeeded to the cultural inheritance of the Satavahanas but a large part of their temporal possessions, thus being enabled to spread Hindu culture to the outside world. The claims of the Chalukyas and the Gangas to their descent from

¹ Mad. E. R. 1926 and 1927.

the solar race,¹ the marriage,—according to a Nagarjunakonda inscription—of an Ikshvaku princess with the King of Vanavasi, and the pride of the Kaikayas in having brought about matrimonial alliances with Ikshvakus and Rajarsis,—all indicate that relationship with this family was solicited on account of its high lineage and exalted character. The rule of this dynasty was continued till its displacement by the Salankayanas from the one side and the Kadamba Vakataka expansions on the other. Its disappearance and extinction may be dated roughly about 340 A. D., and it coincided with the meteoric descent of Samudragupta into the south, rudely shocking the stability of existing kingdoms and providing opportunities for enterprising men to carve out kingdoms for themselves. This subversion of the power of the principalities dubiously independent, coupled with the abeyance of political authority capable of enforcing peace and order—the direct result of his invasion—also favoured the plans of powerful kings, like the Pallavas, for territorial aggrandisement. Like the Kadamba Mayura Sarma, perhaps, the progenitors of the Gangas acted similarly. It is not then improbable that

¹ Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions P. 30; E. C. Vol. VII, Sb. 64.

two ambitious Ikshvaku princes came to Perur and laid the foundations of the Ganga dynasty about the fourth century. If this view is tenable, it will then be possible to arrange in definite chronological sequence the subsequent reigns of the Ganga rulers. The two princes, Didiga and Madhava of the Ikshvaku dynasty marched southwards after the disintegration of the Ikshvaku kingdom, and arrived at Perur still called Ganga Perur, and there met with the Jain Acharya Simhanandi who interested himself

Note :—(a) Several are the theories advanced both traditional and historical as to the origins of the dynasty. According to the traditional account of the Western Gangas, Harischandra of the Ikshvaku Vamsa¹ had a son named Bharata, whose wife *Vijaya Mahadevi* bathed in the Ganges to remove her langour and begot Gangadatta whose posterity were the Gangas.² On one of this line, Bhagadatta, was bestowed the government of Kalinga, while to Sridatta his brother, was given the ancestral kingdom with the elephant which thus became the Ganga crest. God Indra gave to Priya Bandhu one of this dynasty five tokens with a warning that they would disappear if the king proved an apostate. During an aggression by Mahipala of Ujjain on the territory of Padmanabha Ganga demanding the surrender of the five tokens, the two sons of Padmanabha Ganga with their sister and attendant brahmins and the tokens were sent southwards to escape assault. These two sons Didiga and Madhava were the founders of the Western Ganga Line.³

(b) The account given in the Kalinga Ganga inscriptions is that Purvasu, son of Yayati, being without sons practised self-

¹ E. C. VII Sk. 225, 236.

² E. C. VII Ng. 35.

³ I. A. XIII 275.

zet, en zo wel verenigt dat men de oude steenen veeltyds beeter dan de nieuwe agt. De E. Kompagnie vind deeze steenen zeer dienstig tot haar gebruik in 't opbouwen van haare fortressen en logies, en de inwoonders tot het stigten van hunne huizen.

Maar om van myne afwykinge weder te keeren, zo kan ik niet nalaten ook aan te tekenen, dat het onderscheid van grond, hier ook een groot verschil in de vrugtbaarheid veroorzaakt. 't Is in 't gemeen waar, dat hier niet gevonden worden die aangename Landsdouwen, en malsche klaver-velden, met welke ons Neerland pronkt. Nog dat ze bedekt en bekleed zyn met veelverwige bloemen, die oog en reuk vermaken, hoewel de Digter Antonides in zyn Yfroom zingt:

*'t Vrugtbare Couchim, daar een gewenste Mey
Gedurig 't land bekleed met baare bloem-livrey.*

Maar dit is een *licentia poëtica*, die gansch en al van de waarheit afwykt, want de velden zyn doorgaans mager, schraal en gansch niet bloemryk. Egter is 't zeeker dat de laage en zandagtige plaatzen vrugtbarder dan de hooge en steenagtige zyn, deeze geven niet als boomen en boom-vrugten, maar die verfstrekken in 't tegendeel tot goede zai-velden, en dat in zulk een overvloed, dat ze genoegzaam zyn om Mal-labaar van Ryft te voorzien, en zelfs
een

een gedeelte daar van naar andere landen te verzenden. 't Is zeker aanmerkens waardig, dat de Ryft, zulk een droog gewas, egter in 't midden van 't water moet opgroeien: Ja zelfs hebben de inlanders de gewoonte van in de uitgestrekte laage velden de Nely te zaien, als 't land een voet of twee onder water staat, werpende dies het zaadt in 't water, 't welke dan op de aarde zakkende aanstonds wortelen vat en opschiet, maar verplant moet werden als 't byna een voet hoog is. De levensmiddelen zyn hier alle byna goedkoop, en byzonder visch en vleesch, een varken koopt men voor een daalder, en goed kalf voor een halve ryksdaalder, een hoen voor een dubbeltje; waar van de oorzaak in 't byzonder moet afgeleid worden uit den aardt en de gewoonten der natie, die nimmer koevleesch eet, want zulks wort by hen alle voor een gruwelftuk gehouden, en die een koebeest onder hen dood, wort zonder genade met de dood gestraft. Het eeten van ander vee wort aan zommige *kasten* [geslachten] wel toegestaan, maar die doen zulks weinig, om dat hunne Bramins daar van een doodelyken afkeer hebben, en niets nuttigen zullen dat leven ontfangen heeft.

Dog om noch een woord van 't boven Mallabaar by te voegen, het zelve is zeer bergagtig, en vol heuvelen en groote ber-

the east Tondaimandalam, in the west the ocean in the direction of Chera, and in the south Kongu country. Within these limits the Gangas undertook the subjugation of all enemies. The capital at the time of the foundation of the kingdom was Kuluvala. But in later times, Talkad, called Talavanapura in Sanskrit, was the capital. The royal residence was fixed at Mankunda (west of Channapatna) in the seventh century, and at Manyapura, north of Nelamangala in the eighth century. According to the originally uniform practice of having one device for the crest as used on copper plate charters, occasionally with inscriptions on stones and on coins, and another device for the banner, the crest of the Gangas was the *Mada-gajendra Lanchana* or crest of the lordly elephant in rut, and their banner was the *Pincha Dhwaja* or banner of a bunch of flowers. The Gangas may be described as the principal Jaina dynasty of the South. How 'Ganga' came to be their designation, whence their kingdom was called Gangavadi, or Gangapadi, and its subjects Gangadikaras are not accounted for. The only other recurrence of such a name in history is in the Greek accounts of Chandragupta who is described as ruling over the Presii and Gangaridae, which probably existed at the mouth of the river Ganges with Ganga as their

capital. Pliny calls its rulers Gangaridae Kalingae who according to their own admission were connected with Mysore Ganga kings. Though there is no evidence that the name Ganga originated with the Gangaridae Kalingae, the fact of the existence of two main branches of the Gangas, the Gangas of Talkad and the Gangas of Kalinga, tracing their appellation to the sacred river Ganges, is borne out by ample epigraphical and monumental testimony.

Ganga Chronology :—The chronology of the early Gangas is highly controversial and has to be accepted tentatively subject to alterations with the discovery of new and valuable evidence. The genuineness of many copper plates which furnish evidence on chronology has been questioned. There is some amount of agreement in regard to the text and succession list of kings they enumerate, but there is wide disagreement referring to the reading and interpretation of their characters, languages, and orthography. A large number of plates is either not dated at all or is wrongly dated and, to evolve a consistent scheme of chronology purely on the basis of dates given by copper plates, without any reference to other contemporary evidence is to land oneself in a maze of contradictions. Still in spite of these discrepancies

in dates, all copper plates not merely present a fairly consistent and consecutive account not discredited by contradictory statements, but are also supported and confirmed by scores of stone inscriptions of all periods and by references in contemporary records of neighbouring and other dynasties. Therefore, the conclusion is irresistible that the genuineness of the plates does not depend mainly on the specific mention of a date right or wrong, but on its general character, the evidence of language, genealogical details and the like.

There are a few copper plates which are considered genuine from this point of view and are correctly dated, and these furnish valuable data, on chronology. The date of the Javali plates issued in the 25th regnal year of Sripurusha exactly corresponds with Monday 20th April 750 A.D. and is confirmed by the Kondajji Agrahara plates. Similarly, the date of the Bedirur plates of Bhuvikrama, issued in the 25th year of his reign, corresponds with Thursday 25th March 633 A.D. and these two dates are the starting points in the early Ganga chronology. The Bendiganahalli plates are dated the 13th day of Asvayuja Bahula in the 1st regnal year of Vijaya Krishna Varman and are assigned to about 400 A.D. by R. Narasimhachar. The Penukonda plates accepted as

genuine, from every point of view, explicitly mention the installation of Harivarman by Simhavarman Pallava, and, if the synchronism, recorded by the Penukonda plates of Harivarman and Madhava III with the Pallava kings, Simhavarman and Skandavarman, is interpreted with the aid of the date determined in Lokavibhaga, we know definitely that Simhavarman came to the throne in 436 A.D. It follows from this that Harivarman should have been anointed king sometime anterior to 450 A.D. Tadan-gala Madhava, grandson of Harivarman, was installed on the throne by Skandavarman III, son of Simhavarman,¹ of the Sanskrit charters, about 475 A.D. when Madhava, as a natural expression of gratitude to the Pallava sovereign for placing him on the throne, issued the Penukonda plates. Madhava is also the author of Kudlur² and Keregalur³ grants and 500 A.D. has been fixed as an approximate date for the latter. As an identical genealogy and the specific mention of a close connection with the Pallava dynasty are the distinctive features of the Kudlur as those of the Penukonda plates, the Kudlur grant might have been issued some-

¹ E. C. III 142, M. E. R. 1914, P. 82.

² M. A. R. 1930—3.

³ M. A. R. 1930—88.

time between 475 A.D. and 500 A.D. As no clues are given in Tagarti, Melkote and Chukkur plates as to the extent of his reign, 500 A.D. might have been the probable year which marked its termination.

Harivarma's date, as mentioned above, has to be fixed between 436 A. D. and 475 A. D. the latter being an approximate date of the coronation of his son Madhava. As Konganivarma, who as a boy founded the dynasty, and his son, Madhava, father of Harivarma, came to the throne early in age, they both might have ruled for nearly a century, enabling us thus to fix the date of the foundation of the kingdom about the middle of the fourth century. One other guide to fix the date of Konganivarma is to ascertain the date of Simhanandin who helped him and his brother Didiga in establishing their power. This event is mentioned in many inscriptions as a collateral fact. Acharya Simhanandi is mentioned with Elacharya Padmanandin,¹ and it is very probable that the personal or religious name of Kundakunda was Padmanandin. The date of Kundakunda is invaluable in the determination of the date of Simhanandi and Samantabhadra. Since none of the inscriptions mentioning Kundakunda as the third pontiff of

¹ Barend Faddegon, *Pravachana Sara of Kundakunda*, Intro. xv.

the line with a date corresponding to B. C. 8—A. D. 44, is of a date earlier than the eleventh century, their testimony has only a certain general value. Bhandarkar and Weber mention Kundakunda as one of the earliest Digambara teachers of very great renown, as a poet and author of many works in Prakrit. In the introduction to his edition of Kundakunda Samaya Sara, Gajadharalala Jain, after a thorough discussion of his subject and his times, concludes, conceding the possibility of a doubt, that Kundakunda lived about the middle of the third century or 250 A. D. Since Samantabhadra and Akalanka the two great Digambara teachers are also mentioned and frequently in this historical¹ order immediately after Kundakunda, Samantabhadra, third in the great order of the seven Kavis, probably lived about the same time or in the last quarter of the third century. Simhanandi is mentioned next to Samantabhadra in inscriptions² and his date cannot be fixed earlier than the period ranging from about 250 to 350 A. D. Accordingly, Madhava the founder of the Ganga dynasty, until more satisfactory evidence is avail-

¹ E. C. II 255, 285, 289, 363, 596, etc.

Vidyabhushana in the introduction to his history of Mediaeval School of Indian logic assigns Samantabhadra to 600 A. D. (XV).

² E. C. II No. 59.

able, can be tentatively assigned to the middle of the fourth century or 350 A.D.

It thus becomes manifest that Konganivarma, Madhava, Harivarma and Tadangala Madhava ruled between 350 A. D. and 500 A. D. and Madhava's successors Avinita, Durvinita, Mushkara and Srivikrama during the period between 500 A. D. and 608 A. D., the latter date being the first regnal year of Bhuvikrama. It is evident from the phrases that are invariably applied to Avinita in Nona-mangala, Sringeri and Kodinjeruvu plates that he was a posthumous child and was proclaimed king while still in the lap of his mother. As five grants of his reign have been found of the 1st, 2nd, 25th, 29th and 36th years and seven copper plate grants of his son Durvinita belonging to his 3rd, 4th, 20th, 35th and 40th years, it is wellnigh tenable that both father and son ruled Gangavadi for over a century. The reference in the Gummareddipura¹ grant and in the Hindupur stone inscriptions² to Chalukya Jayasimha, Durvinita's daughters' son, who was in perpetual hostility with, and was eventually slain by, a Pallava king, is an important synchronism which helps us in fixing the

¹ M. A. R. 1911-1912, Para 68.

² E. C. VIII Nr 35.

date of Durvinita. The Kanthem¹ grant supports this reference, in the stone inscriptions, to the conflict between Jayasimha and his contemporary king of Kaduvetti and his having re-established his power after a period of obscurity, with the intervention of Durvinita. As Jayasimha ruled in the first quarter of the sixth century, Durvinita's period will have to be fixed about the same time, a date much too early for him. Dr. Fleet assigns the Gummareddipura plates of Durvinita on paleographic grounds to the first half of the seventh century. R. Narasimhachar, who assigned these plates to about 550 A.D., shifts Durvinita to a later date between 605 and 650 A.D., following the synchronism of Durvinita, Simhavishnu and Vishnuvardhana, suggested by the *Avantisundarikathasara*.² Dr. A. B. Keith admits that though it is difficult to establish the contemporaneity of Bharavi, Simhavishnu, Vishnuvardhana and Durvinita, there is at least no flagrant anachronism.³ The Aihole inscription of Pulekesin of 634 A.D. specifically makes mention of Bharavi's fame and Dr. Keith opines that, since Bana ignores Bharavi, he having hardly preceded him long enough for his fame to compel

¹ Fleet : *Kanarese Dynasties*. P. 342.

² Madras Oriental Mss. Library Reports—1916, 17, 18, 19.

³ Keith : *History of Sanskrit literature*—P. 109.

recognition, it is wiser to place Bharavi at 550 A.D. than as early as 500 A.D. It is then not improbable that Bharavi visited Durvinita's court, about that time. This is the only hypothesis that can be reasonably advanced in support of the statement in most of the inscriptions that Durvinita was the author of a commentary on the 15th canto of *Kiratarjuniya*, though Keith considers this as a piece of literary forgery.¹ Besides, if Durvinita is assigned to the latter half of the sixth century, this will, not merely, agree with the dates of his successors arrived at independently, but also makes him the contemporary of Pulekesin I, Kirthivarman, Mangalesha and probably of Pulekesin II too. As Bhuvikrama came to the throne in 608 A.D. the rule of Durvinita's successors Mushkara and Srivikrama was short.

Bhuvikrama might have ruled for a considerably long period, for, from one of the inscriptions,² we obtain the date 670 A.D. marking the end of his reign. His brother Sivamara ascended the throne in 679 A.D. for, the Hallagere copper plate grant of his 34th regnal year is dated, Saka 635. His reign appears to have been eventful and long, as attested by the

¹ *Ibid* preface—xvii.

² E. C. III. Md. 113.

British museum¹ grant, the Bhaktarahalli² lithic inscriptions and the Kulagana³ copper plates which are all assigned to a period between 720 and 725 A.D.

There are numerous copper plates and lithic inscriptions which fix definitely the date of Sripurusha's accession to the throne and rule. The Javali plates give Saka 672 (750 A.D.) as his 25th year which is confirmed by the Dêvarahalli plates which give Saka 698 (776 A.D.) as his 50th year, both being verified and accepted by Fleet and Keilhorn. The Halkur lithic inscription dated Saka 710 or 788 A.D. marks the 62nd and probably also the last year of his reign.

Sivamara II succeeded Sripurusha in 788 A.D. and after great vicissitudes in his career, long and sanguinary wars, and loss of the throne, was at last in 815 A.D., reinstalled by Govinda Rashtrakuta and Nandivarman Pallava, a fact that is borne out by Sankenahalli and Hiregundagal lithic inscriptions and the Kadaba plates. The latter mention the death of Sivamara fighting in the battle field at Kagemogeyur.

As the Manne grant is dated Saka 750 or 12th regnal year of Rajamalla corresponding

¹ I. A. XIV. 229.

² M. A. R. 1918-1919. P. 62.

³ M. A. R. 1925, P. 106.

with 828 A. D., there is nothing inherently improbable about 817 A. D. being the year of his accession to the throne. Though the Vallimalai¹ and the Honganur lithic inscriptions are silent about the extent of Rajamalla's rule, from the Hindupur temple lithic inscription dated Saka 775, one of the earliest records of Rajamalla's successor Nitimarga Ereganga Perumanadi, we obtain 853 A. D., as marking probably the last year of his reign.

Nitimarga was the donor of the Galigekere plates which are assigned to 860 A. D. His rule lasted only for a period of sixteen years till 869 A. D., as can be gauged from a rude bas relief at the head of the Doddahundi stone² depicting his death.

The Biliur stone inscription is dated Saka 809, the 18th regnal year of Rajamalla II who commenced to rule in 870 A. D. His life was one of strenuous activity and for a period of nearly thirty-seven years, he was engaged in incessant hostility with the Nolambas and the Chalukyas of Vengi. The Kabbalur and Sattanur Viragals dated in his 15th and 29th regnal years, the Gattavadipura and Narasapura copper plates dated in Saka 826 and 824, respec-

¹ E. C. IV. 160.

² E. C. III. Tn. 91.

tively, and the Arkalgud inscription of his 37th regnal year corresponding with the 21st year of his nephew Ereyappa, who was associated with him in the Government of the kingdom—are all an eloquent testimony to his great achievements.

Ereyappa or Nitimarga II who had already ruled for twenty years in association with his uncle continued to rule till 935 A.D. according to one of his lithic inscriptions which gives Saka 857, the year *Vijaya*. Narasimhadeva or Narasinga referred to in the Sudi¹ plates of Butuga, did not survive his father.

Rajamalla Satyavakya III mentioned in Chikka Kaulande lithic inscriptions² dated 920 A.D. was killed by his brother Butuga who then ascended the throne in 938 A. D. a date that is obtained from his Sudi plates which record a grant to a Jain temple and are dated Saka 860. The Andagove³ Kallur Viragals dated Saka 866 cyclic year *Krodhi* and corresponding to 944 A. D. belong to his reign. Like the Sudi plates the Atakur stone inscription dated Saka 872 or 950 A. D. refers to Butuga's exploits in the field of battle. A lithic inscription⁴ which records a Kalnatta and is

¹ M. A. R. 1911-12. P. 74.

² E. I. VII. 24.

³ Coorg Inscriptions No. 28.

⁴ M. A. R. 1919-20, P. 65.

dated 960 A. D. issued twenty-two years later than the Sudi grant might be the last grant of his reign.

Marasimha succeeded him in 961 A.D., and he issued the Kudlur plates an year after his accession in Saka 884 or 962 A.D. The lithic inscription at Karagada,¹ Belur Taluk, dated Saka 893 and the inscriptions at Sravanabelgola, give a long account of his achievements, and the latter records his death in 974 A.D. at Bankapur by the Jaina rite of *sallekhana*.

He was succeeded by Rajamalla Satyavakya IV in the same year. The Kuduru lithic inscription with an illegal date, and the Peggur inscriptions² with Saka 899 (Isvara) or 977 A.D are the only two grants of his period.

These inscriptions mention of Rakkasa Ganga as being associated with his brother in the government of the kingdom in 977 A.D. Since the lithic grant of Rakkasa Ganga at Hale Budanur, Mandya Taluk, has on the one side an inscription of the 13th regnal year of Rajendra Chola, who conquered Gangavadi prior to 1024 A. D., Rakkasa might have ruled the kingdom long, acknowledging Chola suzerainty—a fact which is further supported by E. C. III Md. 78 which describes a Ganga Permanadi ruling

¹ E. C. II No. 59.

² Mysore and Coorg Inscriptions No. 4.

over Karnata, and is dated Saka 944 cyclic year Durmati corresponding to 1022 A. D. Rakasa the last of the great Gangas ruled then from 985 A. D. to 1022 A. D. With the establishment of Chola domination, the Gangas lost their kingdom and sought shelter under the rising Chalukyas and Hoysalas. The Ganga nobility attained to positions of honour under them and contributed their talent and resources to a subversion of Chola ascendancy in Mysore and laying the foundations of the Hoysala Empire which was destined to play in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a great part in the politics of the Deccan and the South.

The following table of Ganga kings with dates together with a list of inscriptions so far published is given for ready reference.

King	Date	Inscriptions
Konganivarma	...	Kudlapur stone ins.
Madhava I	...	Kundabata grant Nandi (No. I)
Harivarma	...	Bendiganahalli plates, Tanjore plates, Tagadur plates.
Vishnugopa
Madhava II	450-500 ?	Penukonda plates, Tagarti plates, Nonamangala plates, Chukuttur plates, Melakote plates, Keregalur plates, Kudur plates.
Avinita	500-540 ?	Nonamangala plates, Sringeri plates, Residency plates, Kodunjerevu plates, Mercara plates, Mallohalli plates.

Darvinita	...	540-600 ?	Bangalore Museum plates, Uttanur plates, Mallohalli plates, Nallala plates, Devarahalli lithic inscriptions, Gummaredipura plates.
Mushkara
Srivikrama
Bhuvikrama	...	608-670 A. D.	Bedirur.
Sivamara	...	670-715 A. D.	Hebbur, Hallegere.
Sripurusha	...	726-788 A. D.	Nandi plates, Sargur, Kondajj Agrahara plates, Javali C. P., Islampur C. P., Hosur C. P., Devarahalli C. P., Narasimharajapura C. P., Bhimanakone lithic ins., Agara lithic ins., Tattikallu lithic ins., Hebbata lithic ins., Halakur lithic ins., Gundahalli lithic ins.
			Odepatti lithic ins., Devalapura, Alagodu and Hemmige, Hiregandagal Kuppapalya lithic ins.
Sivamara II	...	788-815 A. D.	Kuppepalya L. I. Sankenahalli and Hiregandagal L. I.

King	Date	Inscriptions
Rajamalla Satyavakya	...	Manne (II), Vellimalai Cave Ins., Hongalur L. I.
Nitimarga I	...	Krishnapur L. I. Hindupur L. I. Galigekere plates.
Rajamalla II	...	Biliur L. I. Kotur L. I. Narasapur plates, Gattavadipura plates.
Nitimarga II	...	Talkad L. I.
Rajamalla III	...	Chikkakaulande temple L. I.
Butuga II	...	Sudi plates, Danagur L. I. Ichavadi L. I.
Marasimha III	...	Kudur plates, Hebbatta Yantrakal.
Rajamalla IV	...	Kuduru L. I. Peggur L. I.
Rakkasa Ganga	...	Peggur L. I.

CHAPTER II

BEGINNINGS AND EXPANSION OF GANGAVADI UNDER MADHAVA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

DIDIGA who was also called Kongani Varma or Konkani Varman, a title used by all the subsequent kings of the line was the founder of the dynasty.¹ As he and his brother had come from the north and halted at Perur with a view to mature their plans of conquest, they naturally had to encounter the opposition of the Mahabali or Bana kings who held sway over the east of Mysore, and whose Western boundary was probably the Palar river, close to Kolar. Didiga who was bent on conquering the Bana country, carried an expedition into it, and became victorious, for he is described as a 'wild fire in consuming the stubble² of the forest Bana.' He led another expedition later to the Konkan coast, encroached upon Mandali near Shimoga, where on the advice of his Guru

¹ I. A. VII. P. 167.

E. C. VII Nr. 35.

E. C. VII Sh. 4.

² E. C. IX. D6. 67.

Simhanandi, he established a Chaityalaya. He might have ruled for a considerably long period as he was pretty young when he founded the kingdom.

Didiga's son Kiriya or Younger Madhava succeeded his father on the throne and assumed the purple with the avowed object of promoting the happiness of his subjects. The *raison d'être* of kingship according to the Ganga civic ideal was good government (*samyak-praja-palana-matradhigatarajya-prayojanasya*). Besides being an active soldier he was proficient in Niti-sastra, in the Upanisads as well as in other branches of sociological study. Gifted with a literary turn of mind, he could appreciate the learned and the poets. He was an author of repute and wrote a treatise on Dattakasutra.

A clear and accurate knowledge of the relative position of the Gangas with that of the great powers of the south is necessary at this stage in order to appreciate the reigns of three Ganga sovereigns Hari Varma, Vishnu Gopa and Madhava II who succeeded Madhava I. The fourth and fifth centuries witnessed the attempt on the part of the Pallavas to perpetuate their authority in Kuntala, Gangavadi and Kadambanad, and keep them in a position of political subordination.

Madhava I
400-435 A.D.

During this period the Kadambas under Mayurasarma rebelled against the Pallava control and aimed at independence. Though this conflict ended in a compromise it enabled him to become a force to be reckoned with in the politics of the day. Probably he received Kuntala as a military *fief* from the Pallava lords of Kanchi who were pleased with his courage displayed on the field of battle. The conspicuous absence of assumption of *birudas* or titles connected with royal power enables us to infer that his immediate successors were *mere samantas*. Krisna Varma I, the son and successor of Kukutsa Varman who bore the titles of Dharmaraja and Dharma Maharaja,¹ and his descendants² Mrigesa and Mandhatri, Raghu and Ravi Varman who uprooted Chandadanda, the lord of Kanchi,³ all laid claims to independent status and royal dignity. From 475 A.D. the struggle for the maintenance of overlordship over Kuntala began between the Pallavas and the Kadambas. The Pallavas, thus embroiled into civil war for succession, now secured the throne for Vishnu Varman who solicited their support. The Pallavas under

¹ E. C. IX. Dg. 161.

² E. C. V. Hn. 84.

³ I. A. VI. P. 24.

Simha Varma¹ and Skanda Varman² strengthened the hand of the Gangas and a Ganga-Pallava alliance was formed with a view to over-awe the Kadambas. Though the history of the war is irregular and shadowy, evidences are not wanting to indicate the maintenance of Pallava influence in Kuntala and the continuation of a strong Pallava association about the appellation of Simha Varman in the Kadamba family of Vishnugopa and Simha Varman Madhava in the Ganga family. The installation of Harivarman and Tadangala Madhava on the throne by Simha Varman and his son Skanda Varman Pallava, contemporaries of Kadamba Mrigesha, Mandhatri and Ravivarman, the marriage of Tadangala Madhava with the Kadamba princess, are strong evidences which bear out the integrity of Pallava power and influence in Kuntala and Gangavadi in the sixth century. They also bear out the attempts which the Pallavas made to bring a consolidation of their power partly by suspension of hostility and partly by encouragement of matrimonial alliances, the astuteness of which policy they had recognised in the development of their own power.

¹ E. I. XV. 249.

² E. P. I. XIV. 333.

Madhava's son Harivarma came to the throne about 436 A. D. On the basis of Hari Varma, 436-460 A.D. Penukonda¹ and Bendiganahalli² plates, the period of Harivarma has been assigned to a time somewhat anterior to 475 A. D. The plates mention the fact that he was installed on the throne by the Pallava Simha Varma II., who commenced to rule about 438 A. D. Harivarma is commonly described as having employed elephants in war and having acquired great wealth by the use of the bow. He removed the capital to Talkad situated on the Kaveri, in the southeast of the Mysore district, probably for diplomatic considerations. He conferred a gift of the Ore kodu village in the Mysore *nad* and the title of *Vadibhasimha* on a victorious Brahmin adversary for overawing a Buddhist in disputation.³ He made similar grants of villages to Brahmin ascetics and scholars and to a temple dedicated to Mulasthana Isvara.⁴

N. B.—The genealogy of the early Gangas has been as controversial as their chronology. All copper plates and lithic inscriptions bear out the important fact that Konganivarma Dharma Maharajadhiraja and Madhava were the founders of the dynasty. Hari-

¹ E. I. XIV. 832, 33.

² M. A. R. 1915, P. 40.

³ E. I. VIII. P. 212.

⁴ M. A. R. 1921, para 38, 39.

varma is mentioned as the third name in the list by Kudlur, Kallurgudda, and Purale stone inscriptions, and Kandasala, Tagadur, Nonamangala, Sringeri, Mallohalli, Kadunjeravu, Uttanur, Gummareddipura, and Bangalore Museum copper plates. But the disclosure of names as Ayyavarman, Krishna Varman, Vijaya Krisna Varman as third and Simha Varman as the fourth in the list of kings by the Penukonda, Chukkuttur and Bendiganahalli plates recognised as genuine has tended to a divergence of opinion among scholars, with regard to their real identity. Some think that the Ganga Empire was divided after the death of Madhava I, among his sons, Ayyavarman, Krishnavarman and Vijaya Krishnavarman who made Talkad, Kaivara and Paruvi, respectively as capitals of their principalities and maintained their independence for a period of nearly half a century. The Talkad dynasty then got the ascendancy sometime between 400 and 500 A. D. and imposed its power upon the rest.¹

But the description of Simhavarman, the son of Harivarman with the same attribute as *Pitruipaitamhaguna samyuktha*, on both Penukonda and Chukkuttur plates leads a *fortiori* to an establishment of the identity of Ayyavarman with Krsnavarman. Madhava II and Vijaya Krishnavarman are described in Bendiganahalli plates with the same attributes as *Svabhujajayanita Sujana-janapada*, *Ganga-kula-vyomavabhasanabhaskara*, *Devadvija-guru-charana-pranayakrutanukampana*, *Nanasastrarthagunah*, that are usually applied to Konganivarman and Madhava in all plates. The probability of the attributes of Madhava of having been juxtaposed with the same name of Vijayakrisna by the engraver of the plates, confirms the latter's identity with Krishna Varman and Ayyavarman of the Chukkuttur and Penukonda plates. Again, as the term Harivarman has come to be used without the aspirate as *Arivarman* in his Tanjore plates and in common parlance as Ayyavarma, it becomes manifest that the name of Ayyavarma, Krishnavarman and Vijayakrishnavarman are merely his appellations which he acquired after his installation on the throne by the Pallava king.²

¹ M. A. R. 1930. 3, 36, 88.

² Karnataka Review. 1932. Pp. 7-8.

Vishnugopa who succeeded Harivarma set aside the Jaina faith and showed a distinct predelection for the worship of Vishnu, that the five tokens given by Indra vanished as foretold in the original warning.¹ Eulogistic references to him such as *Sakratulya-parakrama*, *Narayana-charana-nudhyata*, *Gurugobrahmana-pujaka*,² indicate that he enjoyed a greater reputation for saintliness of character than for kingly accomplishments.

His grandson, son of Prithivi Ganga who never came to the throne, was **Tadangala Madhava**,
460-500 A.D. *Tadangala Madhava*³ renowned for his atheletic feats and great personal strength and the valour with which he maintained the integrity of the kingdom. He favoured the worship of Triambaka and revived the donations for long ceased festivals of the Gods and Brahmins.⁴ Though

¹ M. A. R. 1921, para. 38, 39.
E. I. XIV. 331, 336.

² M. A. R. 1916, P. 34, 35.
M. A. R. 1914, P. 67, 69.

³ E. C. VII. Sk. 464; E. C. VIII. Nr. 35.

⁴ E. I. XV. 249.
E. I. XIV. 335.

he was a devotee of Siva, he made grants to Jain temples¹ and Buddhist Viharas.²

During his period there appeared to have been great vicissitudes in the fortunes of the Gangas. A kingdom that had been arduously built up and maintained free from any alien domination for a century, seems to have come under the influence of the Pallavas, as the annointment of Harivarman by Simhavarman II, and the elevation of Madhava to the throne by Skandavarman III bear testimony. Apprehension of danger from the Pallavas might have been the motive for the Kadamba sovereign to supplement his strength by a matrimonial alliance with the Gangas who were virtually feudatories of the Pallavas. Madhava married the sister of the Kadamba king Krisna Varman II³ and the issue of this alliance was Avinita one of the most illustrious sovereigns of the Ganga dynasty.

Avinita was crowned king while still an infant on his mother's lap.⁴ He was probably a posthumous son of his father. Traditions mention that one day Avinita came to the bank of the

¹ E. C. X. ML. 73.

² M. A. R. 1924, P. 89, 81.

³ I. A. XII. P. 13; *ibid.* XVIII. 366.

⁴ M. A. R. 1916. P. 34-35.

Kaveri and heard a voice calling out to him *Satajivi*. He plunged into the river while

Whether Avinita's mother was the sister of Krisnavarman I or of Krisnavarman II has been a matter of controversy. The alphabets of the Bendiganahalli plates, Chikkutur plates and Bannahalli plates are so similar that there is no room for doubting that Ganga Madhava, Vishnu Kundin, Vikramendra Varman II, and the Kadamba Krishna Varman II were contemporaries and the sister of the latter king married Madhava II. Kukutsa Varman of the Kadambas, in the Talgunda inscriptions, is said to have given his daughter to the Guptas, and his date has been tentatively fixed at 400 A. D., and Krisnavarman II, "Sun in the firmament of the Kadamba family" fifth from Kukutsa in the main line may be taken to have lived in the neighbourhood of 500 and 565 A. D. and to have been succeeded by Ajavarman, Bhogavarman and Vishnuvarman the last two being the Kadamba contemporaries of Durvinita one of the most celebrated Ganga sovereigns of the seventh century.

in full flood and swam across it in safety. He married the daughter of Skanda Varman, Raja of Punnad which lay south of Gangavadi with the capital Kittur¹ on the bank of the river Kapini.

Avinita is spoken of as a prodigy of valour, unrivalled in the managing of elephants, in horsemanship, archery, and as a prince of unstinted liberality. He is described to have been devoted to the protection of the country and the maintenance of *varnasramadharma*,² and to

¹ E. C. IX. D. B. 68. Mallopalii plates.

I. A. I. 136 ; *ibid.* I. 363.

² E. C. IX. D. B. 67.

have made large grants of land to Jain temples and Brahmins. Five such grants have been found to belong to the first, second, twenty-fifth and thirty-sixth years of his reign. He was devoted to the worship of Hara¹ (*Hara-charanaravinda-pranipata*). Brought up under the care of *Vijayakirti*² who was his preceptor, he displayed large partiality towards Jainism and in his later life made a number of grants for Jain *bastis* in Punnad and other places.

Durvinita was one of the most remarkable sovereigns of the early Ganga dynasty. His reign as those of his great contemporaries marked a transition from a grey and lifeless period to one that teemed with the exuberance of life. It was an age of preparation, when the forces of historical growth worked imperceptibly towards a mighty religious transformation. The political conditions were considerably altered and orthodoxy yielded place to a liberal cosmopolitanism. The personal factor became all important in the politics of the period and the fortunes of kingdoms and empires fluctuated according to the strength or weakness of the men who presided over their destinies. The political unity of the

Durvinita,
550.600 A.D.

¹ E. C. X. Mr. 72.

² M. A. R. 1911. P. 31.

country that was broken up into many principalities once again offered opportunities for powerful personalities to interfere gratuitously in the affairs of their weaker neighbours, to create there spheres of influence by taking sides in cases of conflicting claims to sovereignty, and to weld them all by such and other means into strong national states.

The long but fairly successful struggle of the Pallavas with the Kalabras in Tondaimandalam, the assertion of Pallava overlordship over the Gangas and the Kadambas, who after a long struggle acknowledged their suzerainty and the foundation of a new dynasty by Simha Vishnu are illustrations of this important tendency in Pallava history, in the 6th century. The accession of this powerful dynasty to authority was almost coeval, with the rise of the Chalukyas in the region north of their territory,¹ as well as the beginnings of hostility between them. Repudiating the religious basis of the hostility between the Pallavas and the Chalukyas, as devotees of Siva and Vishnu, respectively, as well as the theory of their foreign origins which is untenable, we have to look to its probable cause elsewhere. The early Chalukyas spread southwards with the set object of

¹ E. C. I. Cg. 1. 50.

recovering the Southern block of territory that once constituted an important part of the Andhra Empire and, that was vulnerable to attack, from a southern power. The Pallavas equally anxious to buttress their north-western frontier had already established in Banavasi and Gangavadi their overlordship which was very much resented by local dynasties. Naturally, therefore, in this policy of irresistible expansion, the Chalukyas and Pallavas had reasons for perpetual hostility on an important and at the same time a vulnerable frontier for both of them.

In the fratricidal struggle that ensued between Durvinita and his younger step-brother whom Avinita at the time of his death had nominated as his successor¹ on the advice of his *Guru* Vijayakirti, the latter was ably supported in his claims by the Kadavetti, and Rashtrakuta kings. Durvinita allied himself with the Chalukyan adventurer, Vijayaditya, who first appeared in the South, by giving him his own daughter in marriage, and with his aid destroyed the conspiracy² that was opposed to his claims to the throne.

The aggressive attitude of Vijayaditya and

¹ Fleet : Kanarese Dynasties 342, 344.

² E. C. IX. Bn. 141; XII. M. 110; IX. DB. 68.

his encroachments upon Kuntala which the Pallavas claimed as their dependency provoked Trilochana Pallava to vindicate his right of overlordship of that region by checkmating his enemy and killing him in a fiercely fought battle. The date of the war is uncertain, and epigraphists who agree in making Trilochana Pallava, Karikala and Vijayaditya contemporaries, estimate the period of Vijayaditya and his wars to be about the beginning of the sixth century A.D.¹ The fortunes of the Chalukyan family were at the lowest ebb when Jayasimha Vallabha, son of Vijayaditya ascended the throne. He waged unceasing wars with the Pallavas and the Rashtrakutas and with the help of his maternal grandfather Durvinita, re-established Chalukyan power that had suffered a temporary eclipse. The Nagar inscription² which states that Durvinita vanquished a Kaduvetti of Kanchi, and a stone inscription³ which states that Avinita's younger son assumed from Kaduvetti the rule of Kongunad, and the assumption of the surname Kaduvetti by the earliest of Pallava kings, are evidences to support the fact that the Kaduvetti whom Dur-

¹ E. P. India XI; Trilochana Pallava and Karikala. P. 79; 87.

² *Vasudhege ravana—pratimanemba—negertteya kaduvettigam—visasane—rangadol pididu, etc.*

³ E. C. VII Cm. 30.

vinita defeated was Trilochana Pallava, who carried extensive and ruthless invasions into Chalukyan territory and inspired fear in the minds of the people and neighbouring princes.

There was a renewal of the contest with the Pallavas in the time of Ranaraga and Pulekesin who about 559 A. D., claimed universal dominion and performed Asvamedha sacrifice. The Nalas, Mauryas and the Kadambas who were the early opponents to the expansion of Chalukyan power were subdued and the struggle between the Pallavas and their dependents and the Chalukyas ran virulently its course with unabated vigour under Pulekesin's successors Kirtivarman, Mangalesa and Pulekesin II.

Durvinita was probably the contemporary of all these early Chalukyan kings, though it appears incredible that he should have lived till the dawn of the seventh century. He aimed at the expansion of dominion in the South not merely to vindicate the right of conquest, to recover Kongunad, taken and given over to his younger brother, but at the same time to wreak vengeance upon the implacable foe of the Chalukyas who stood in great need of support against the Pallavas. The outbreak of a civil war at the close of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh, in Chalukyan domi-

nions to a great extent frustrated the ambitious designs of Durvinita who counted on Chalukyan support in his wars with the Pallavas. Mangalesha who had successfully established himself on the Chalukyan throne, attempted to prevent his nephew Pulekesin from accession in order to secure it for his own son. Pulekesin was either banished by Mangalesha or was allowed to prefer a flight to save his own life.¹ He who had grown to be a prince of remarkable ability baffled all his uncle's intrigues and by the use of energy, counsel and intrepid support from Durvinita and the Alupas, the traditional allies of the Chalukya dynasty, neutralised all the advantage that Mangalesha had gained by the actual possession of power, and succeeded in becoming king. In the attempt to save the throne for his son, Mangalesha lost his life and kingdom.

Assured now of the support of a steadfast and formidable ally Durvinita carried extensive and ruthless wars against the Pallavas and captured Andheri, Allatur, (Coimbatore District) Poralare, (Chengelpet), Pennagare, (Salem) and other places which considerably augmented his prestige. He conquered Punnad² and vindicated his rightful claims to its rule, his

¹ E. I. VI. 41.

² E. C. XII. Tm. 23.

mother Jayesta, being the only daughter and heiress to its king Skandavarman.¹

Durvinita was not only a great soldier and conqueror who acquired great fame by victories over the Pallavas, but he was also a great scholar, patron of learning and a latitudinarian. In accordance with the lofty traditions of hospitality that prevailed in the East, he extended his kindness without distinctions of creed to Jains, Brahmins and other communities who spoke of his liberality, his genial appearance and his elevated culture in terms of the highest praise. He was adorned with, among others, the titles of *Avinita-sthira-prajvala*, *Anita* and *Ari-nrpa durvinita* and was equal to Krishna, the ornament of the Vrishni race and of his lineage; and was an abode of matchless strength, prowess, glory, modesty, learning and magnanimity.² In the Manne Grant of Rajamalla I, Durvinita is described as a Yudhisthira in virtuous conduct and an expert in the theory and practice of politics.³ In the Bedirur grant he is referred to, as endowed with the three constituents of regal power

Durvinita as
an adminis-
trator.

¹ I. A. XII. IB, XVIII, 366.

² M. A. R. 1918, 35, 36; M. A. R. 1912. P. 31, 32; E. P. India XIV 333.

³ M. A. R. 1910. 32.

Prabhusakti, *Mantrasakti* and *Utsahasakti*, imperial power, power of discretion and power of active will.¹ Two grants of his reign one of the third² year, and another of his thirty-fifth year,³ record donations to Brahmins named Vasa Sarma and Deva Sarma.

Although he favoured the religion of Vishnu he tolerated other forms of religion and conceded the fullest liberty of worship. He was always anxious to promote the welfare of his subjects, and his liberal benefactions originated in a desire to relieve human want and misery. He conferred large endowments on temples⁴ so that the fame of his charity spread all over the country. The Uttanur⁵ plates describe him as resembling *Vaivasvata Manu* in the protection he afforded to the castes and religious orders and as fully able to protect the Southern region; as kind to all, and possessed of loyal subjects.

Durvinita, sagacious and far-sighted in counsel, eloquent and cultured when listening to the songs of the poets, dignified and inspiring, formidable in war, was also a great scho-

As a patron
of learning.

¹ M. A. R. 1925, P. 85.

² I. A. VIII; E. C. IX. D. N. 141.

³ I. A. V. 168; E. C. IX. D6. 68.

⁴ Mysore and Coorg from the Ins. 36.

⁵ E. C. IX. Bn 141.

M. A. R. 1916. P. 35.

lar who received the encomiums of the learned. The *Avanti-sundari-kathasara* mentions in its introductory chapter that Bharavi the celebrated Sanskrit poet, stayed for some time in the court of Durvinita and that he was a contemporary of Vishnuvardhana I and Simhavishnu the Pallava king of Kanchi. The story by Dandi has thus been summarised :

“In the city of Kanchi in South of India there was ruling a king of the Pallavas called Simhavishnu who was a great patron of scholars. One day a stranger appeared before him and recited a Sanskrit verse in praise of Vishnu in his Narasimha Incarnation. When the king listened to the lofty sentiments expressed in the verse he enquired of the stranger with great curiosity the name of the author of the piece.” The Gandharva replied to him “In the North-west there is a town named Anandapura the crest Jewel of Arya Desa where ruled many kings. A family of Brahmins of Kausika Gotra migrated from the place and settled at Achalapura. Narayanaswami a member of this family had a son named Damodara who became a great scholar and was known as Bharavi. He became a friend of King Vishnuvardhana. Once he accompanied Vishnuvardhana on a hunting expedition and while in the forest was obliged by him to eat animal flesh. He then set

out on a pilgrimage to expiate his sins and finally settled in the court of Durvinita. He is the author of this verse which I have now repeated." On hearing this the king desired to see the poet and induced him to come to the court after many invitations. The poet delighted the king greatly by his writings and *subhashitas*. A respectable dwelling being assigned to him for residence by the king, he followed the profession of his father which was poetry.¹ This interesting extract is important in establishing the contemporaneity of three kings Simhavishnu, Vishnuvardhana and Durvinita, and the poet Bharavi. Durvinita appears to have written a commentary on the fifteenth *sarga* of Bharavi's Sanskrit poem *Kiratarjuniya*, a work full of alliterations and other forms of verbal ornament. There cannot be greater praise bestowed on the merits of a poet than that his work should be commented on by the talented sovereign whose protege he was. This position Bharavi seems to have acquired and from the extract we learn that he did not continue for long in the court of Durvinita, but was induced to leave it and settle at the court of Simhavishnu.

From Durvinita's inscriptions we gather that

¹ M. A. R. 1921, P. 48.

his tutor was the famous divine, the celebrated Jain grammarian, Pujiyapada the author of *Sabdavatara*. Some inscriptions make Durvinita himself the author of *Sabdavatara*.¹ Durvinita is also said to have made a Sanskrit version of the *Brihat-katha* written in the Paisachi dialect. "The existence of a Sanskrit version of the *Brihat-katha* written centuries before the three other versions, of Budhaswamin's in the eighth century and Kshemendra and Somadeva's in the eleventh century, has been established beyond all reasonable doubt."² Professor Lacoste, too, says in commenting on Budhaswamin's work that "it is based on an older Sanskrit version of the *Brihat-katha*, for it shows by the side of traits relatively modern, traces of very curious archaism." Durvinita was not only a scholar and wrote in Sanskrit and Prakrit dialects, but is also mentioned in Nripatunga's *Kavirajamarga* as one of the distinguished Kannada writers.

Durvinita was distinguished for his great military prowess, kindness to the fallen enemy which endeared him alike to his feudatory chiefs and to his subjects, for his religious zeal and catholicity respecting all religions though

¹ M. A. R. 1916. P. 36.

² M. A. R. 1911-12. para. 67.

Ibid. 1915-16, para. 65, 66.

his personal feelings were in favour of Vaishnavism ; for his royal reception, love of literature and solicitude for the welfare of his subjects. He was one of the great South Indian monarchs, who deserves an honoured place in Indian History.

The great Durvinita was followed by his son Mushkara or Mokkara sometime also known as Kantivinita.¹ He had two younger brothers and probably Polavaira was one of them. He married the daughter of the Sindhu Raja.² The construction of Mokkara Vasati, a Jain Ganga Temple³ near Bellary was a memorial to him and points to an extension of the Ganga kingdom in that direction.⁴

Of Sreevikrama, son by the Sindhu princess who came next, no particulars are recorded, except that he was a scholar well versed in the science of politics and was the abode of the fourteen branches of learning. He had two sons Bhuvikrama and Sivamara who in turn succeeded to the throne.

¹ E. C. VI. Cm. 58.

² I. A. XIV. 22^c

³ I. A. VII. 107.

⁴ M. A. R. 1925. P. 90, 92.

Bhuvikrama was the son of a Chola princess descended from the family of Karikala reputed for the construction of the embankment on the Cauveri. He was a great warrior, a skilful rider, beautiful in body and pleasing to the eyes and hearts of beautiful women.

During the seventh century while the Ganga kings were extending their dominions in the East and South, the Kadambas made encroachments upon Ganga territory. The Chalukyas who were invading the South and had repeatedly defeated and subdued the Kadambas, now naturally came into contact with the Gangas.

The pedigree that is given in Tagare's plates reveals the name of Polavira Kongani Maharaja, as successor of Arinara Nirvinita who was none other than Durvinita indicated by the Sirigunda stone inscription. Though Ganga records attest to the succession of Mushkara to the throne after the death of Durvinita, it is not improbable that Mushkara had younger brothers, one of whom was Polavira who acted as a viceroy of a Vishaya and issued grants.²

Bhuvikrama was the contemporary of Pulekesin II and his rule witnessed the beginning of the Pallava-Chalukyan conflicts which were destined to be continued unceasingly for over a century and a half. Pulekesin had made himself master of Vengi which till then was under

¹ M. A. R. 1918. Pp. 35, 36.

² E. C. VI. Cm. 50.

the control of the Pallavas, and had established his brother Vishnuvardhana as his viceroy. He encountered his natural enemy the lord of the Pallavas, Mahendravarman, and caused his splendour to be obscured by the dust of his army and to vanish behind the walls of Kanchi.¹ Though what part Bhuvikrama played in this struggle is not known in the present state of our knowledge, it is probable that he and Pulekesin stood to each other as allies against their common enemy, the Pallavas, and jointly carried aggressions on Pallava territory. The expeditions that Pulekesin led in the last years of his reign were repulsed with heavy losses, and his great adversary Narsimha Varman led a counter invasion into Chalukyan territory, defeated Pulekesin in a series of battles at Mani Mangala, Parivala and Sura Mara, inspired terror in the minds of the people by destruction of temples and annexation of large slices of territory, captured Vatapi and killed Pulekesin in the field of battle. Gangavadi was harassed by the invading armies of the Pallavas and it is difficult to determine the share of Bhuvikrama in this conflict and the attempt he made to checkmate Pallava aggressions. A civil war broke out in the Chalukyan

¹ E. C. III. M. D. 113.

Ibid. XII. Tm. 23.

territory after the death of Pulekesin, Chandraditya and his infant son, owing to a disputed succession to the throne between Aditya Varman and Vikramaditya when both appeared to have stood in need of extraneous aid. What part Bhuvikrama played in this struggle too is not known. As the hostility against the Pallavas was the objective of the Ganga sovereigns in their foreign policy during this period, Bhuvikrama engaged the Pallava king Narasimha Potavarman in war, fought several battles at *Vilinda* and other places, and acquired the title of Sri Vallabha¹ and Dugga.

Bhuvikrama like his predecessors was tolerant of all religions that prevailed in his kingdom. He made a grant of land to his Jaina feudatory Sachindra of the Banas, known as Mahavalibana Vikramaditya Govinda. He made Mankunda his royal residence. His reign terminated about 670 A.D. Sivamara ascended the throne in 679 A.D. and the interregnum of nine years between Bhuvikrama's death and the succession of Sivamara was one of great political confusion. Bhuvikrama, probably, commenced a collateral line of which Paramakula Mahadhiraja and Ajavarma were noteworthy descendants who later disputed the right of Sivamara to the throne !

¹ I. A. XIV 229 ; E. C. IX. Bn. 141 ; XII Tn. 23 ; III. Md. 43.

Bhuvikrama's younger brother Sivamara followed in the main line and ruled for a long period. His reign witnessed a Pallava invasion carried with a view to redeem the defeat sustained at the hands of Bhuvikrama.¹ Sivamara not only confirmed his elder brother's conquests but energetically maintained his control over the Pallavas and received hostages from them. While he was extending his sway in the south and the east, his country was invaded by the great Chalukya sovereign Vinayaditya who ruled between 680 and 696 A. D. Chalukyan records, describe Vinayaditya as arresting at the command of his father, the excessively exalted powers of the Chola, Pandya, Kerala and Pallava kings and gratifying his father's mind by bringing all these provinces into a state of peace and quiet, and reducing the Kalabras, the Haihayas, and the Malavas, into a similar state of servitude with his hereditary servants, the Alupas and the Gangas.² The Gangas did not acknowledge Chalukyan overlordship but the latter regarded the Gangas always as their feudatories and resented the interference of any external power in the affairs of Gangavadi. In

¹ E. C. III. M. D. 113.

² I. A. VI. P. 87, 88.

Ibid. VII. P. 303.

Chalukyan inscriptions the Gangas are distinguished by the epithet *Maula* which means ancient and of original unmixed descent, an unimpeachable testimony to the Gangas being regarded by the Chalukyas with great deference and respect.

Modest in behaviour, Sivamara was famous as *Avani Mahendra*, and *Sthira Vinita Prithuvi Kongani*, *Nava Kama* and *Sistha Priyah* the name by which he described himself. It is probable that he had a son named *Ereganga* who was governor of *Tornad* 500, the *Kongalnad* 2,000 and the *Malenad* 1,000 and who made a grant to *Vinadi* and *Kesadi* the chief temple priests of *Panekodupadi*. *Ereganga* did not survive his father.

CHAPTER III

GROWTH OF GANGAVADI UNDER SRIPURUSHA AND SIVAMARA IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY

ONE of the most distinguished rulers of the dynasty was Sripurusha who came to the throne about 726 A. D. His reign inaugurated a new epoch in the history of the country which attained under him a height of greatness and prosperity never reached before. The country in his time came to be called *Sree Rajya* or *fortunate kingdom*.

Sree
Purusha
726-776 A.D.

He seems to have ruled before he came to the throne, under the personal name of *Mutaiya* a variant of *Muttarasa* and as prithivi kongani over Kerekunda 500, Elenagarnad 70, the Avanyanad 300 and Ponkunda 12, (different provinces in the Kolar district) to the east of Gangavadi and contiguous to the kingdom of the Banas who were hostile to the Gangas. During his viceroyalty he carried on wars against the Banas, and though for a time suffered a reverse, was able to retrieve his position, invade their country, and enforce Jagadekamalla, son of Vijayaditya, whom he placed on

the throne, to an acquiescence of his overlordship.¹

From his succession in 726 A.D.² till his death he had to confront the gradual and inevitable encroachments of the Rattas who had risen to power and were undermining Chalukyan sovereignty on the one hand and of the Pallavas on the other. As it was a period of intense and incessant activity, he managed to tide over difficulties both by successful war and by equally successful diplomacy. The Chalukyas developed their territorial power in the south till the fringes of their country became coterminous with those of the Gangas. Nandivarman Pallava launched upon a career of ceaseless conquests, and at the same time attempted at buttressing the north-western frontier of his kingdom, which abutted on Chalukyan boundary. He encroached upon the Kongu territory in the south. The Pandyas waged constant wars with Nandivarman for the overlordship of Kongu territory and for reinstating the legitimate claimant Chitramaya on the throne.³ They gained a brief and ephemeral ascendancy over Kongunad, under Maravarman Rajasimha whose conquests extended far and wide in the teeth of

¹ M. A. R. 1923—52, 53.

² M. A. R. 1907. P. 3. Kondaji I, Agrahara plates.

³ E. I. IX. P. 205.

Nandivarman's aggressive policy. The establishment of an alien power in Kongunad almost on the fringes of Gangavadi which was regarded by the Chalukyas as their feudatory state, provoked another Chalukyan invasion. While Nandivarman was tranquilising Kongunad and fighting the southern powers, Chalukya Vikramaditya II invaded Kanchi and after a temporary military occupation returned triumphant to his own country.¹ A few years later, Nandivarman, to avenge the insult done to his country by the Chalukyas, conciliated the Gangas and the Pandyas, and led a powerful confederacy of all the southern powers, against Keerthi Varman II, and inflicted such a crushing defeat upon him at *Vembai* in 757 A.D., that he never recovered from it. One of Keerthivarman's feudatories, Dantidurga gained considerable influence by a matrimonial alliance with Nandivarman and completed the general shipwreck of Chalukyan² power. Rajasimha, like other powerful kings of the south, gained a large slice of territory in this war, and in order to fortify his newly acquired power, and frustrate the designs of Nandivarman, contemplated a matrimonial alliance with the Ganga dynasty. Though the fact of a Ganga princess being

¹ I. A. VIII. P. 23.

² E. I. IX. P. 24; Q.J.M.S. XIII. 581-8.

married with the Pandya family is not mentioned in any of the Ganga records of the period, it is probable that Sripurusha's daughter was offered in marriage to the son of Rajasimha by the Malava Princess, 'Konarkon' more popularly known as Jatila Parantaka Nedunjadayan, the donor of the Velvikudi plates. Jatila Parantaka was the successor of Rajasimha on the Pandyan throne.

Immediately after the great Chalukyan-Pallava struggle, war broke out between the Pandyas and the Pallavas on the one hand, and the Pallavas and the Rashtrakutas on the other. In a policy of selfish aggrandisement, Nandivarman opened hostilities with the Gangas and the Pandyas for the control over Kongunad. Though what led to this conflict with the Gangas, is not clearly known, still Nandivarman is said to have made an aggression into Ganga country and to have taken away a neck ornament which contained in it the gem called *Ugrodaya*.¹ This invasion did not seriously jeopardise the position of Sripurusha, for we learn that during this triangular conflict he played the one part, now the other, and succeeded eminently in extending his influence south and east and consolidating his power. It was

¹ S. I. I. II. P. 519-20.

the war that followed this hostility between the Gangas and the Pallavas that has been considered the chief military exploit of Sripurusha's reign.

Siyagalla, Sree Purusha's son and general and governor of Kesumannunad distinguished himself in the war and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pallavas at Vilardi.¹ Sripurusha slew the valiant Kaduvetti and took away from him the title *Permanadi* which was afterwards assumed by the Gangas, and used alone to designate them. Sreepurusha practically during the whole of his reign was the contemporary of Nandivarman and which Kaduvetti was killed by him, is not known. This victory won for him a great reputation and also the title of Bheemakopa. The Narasimharajapura plates and Keregodirangapura plates describe him as a terror to enemies, an undisputed master of the whole area, in whose battles¹ the Goddess of victory was bathed in the blood of the elephants cut with his sharp sword.²

From the frequent occurrence of the name Kaduvetti in records, of Cuddapah and Kurnool districts and of the Mysore State, it has been concluded that the descendants of Simhavishnu's younger brother Bhima Varman, during the active rule at Kanchi, of Simhavishnu's son Mahendravarman and his successors, lost their capital temporarily and ruled over the northern part of Pallava territory

¹ M. A. R. 1920. 51-52 ; M. A. R. 1918. para. 76.

² M. A. R. 1919. 60-63, 63-68 ; E. C. X. Kl. 90.

(inclusive of Nellore and Guntur districts) and that the kings of this collateral line were actually called Kadavas or Kaduvetti. The Ganga kings of the early period were feudatories of the Pallavas as their being enthroned by the latter, would indicate.¹ The crowning of Nirvinita's younger son and Sivamara Saigota by the Pallavas, illustrates that the Pallavas asserted their claims as overlords of the Gangas on very rare occasions. As it is clearly stated of Durvinita, in Kannada inscriptions as Ravana Pratima memba negerteya Kaduvettiyan visasana rangadol pididu, of Sripurusha, Lokatraya madhyado ipareyebirada kanchiya kaduvettiyan, of Rakasa ganga 'Tondenadu nalva Vrishabha lanchanum enisida kaduvettige—vivahotsava madi——, it is obvious that the terms Kaduve maharaya and Kadavamahadevi were applied to Pallava kings and queens respectively, and that the term Kaduvetti was an appellation usually borne by the Pallava kings of Kanchi and Tondenad.²

Sree Purusha had to encounter during the latter half of his reign the formidable aggressions of the Rashtrakutas who for several centuries had suffered an eclipse by the Satavahanas and Chalukyas, but were never extirpated. During the eighth century they recovered remarkably, supplanted Chalukyan authority and unable to move northwards pressed southwards and by the middle of the eighth century made themselves masters of the Deccan.³

The chief objective of the Rashtrakutas seems

War with the
Rastrakutas,
760.776 A.D.

¹ E. C. X. Kolar. 90. .

E. I. XIV. 333.

² Trilochana Pallava : P. 79.

³ E. P. IV P. 334; Q.J.M.S. XIII. P. 81, 89, 698, 700.

to have been enlargement of the kingdom and consolidation of power by completing the establishment of their supremacy over the dominions formerly held by the Chalukyas. From 760 A. D., till the close of his reign, Sree Purusha had to combat, therefore, the aggressive wars of the Rashtrakutas, waged for expansion and hegemony. The apprehension of danger from them might have been the motive for the transference of capital from Mankunda to Manyapura. A great war was fought between Sree Purusha and Krishna I or Kannarasa Ballaha in which several heroes of the Ganga army fell.¹ Murukode Anniyar of the three umbrellas, Sreerevaman described as a lion among pandits were a few of the band of heroes who fell in the fiercely contested battles of Pinchnur and Bogeyur.² Sree Purusha's general Siyagalla of Murugarenad, conspicuous in the war with the Pallavas, considered a terror to the enemy, a Rama in war, a purandhara in valour, an accomplished swordsman and one of the most celebrated warriors of the age took part in most of the battles against the Rattas and probably fell a hero at last in the long drawn battle of Kagemogiyur (a place somewhere in

¹ M. A. R. 1910-11, P. 74.

² M. A. R. 1919-20. Para. 51-52.

Tumkur taluk not yet identified). A lithic record¹ immortalising the memory of Siyagella and the Talegaon plates² which Krishna I issued from Manne, while he encamped there in 768 A.D. during the course of the expedition, bear out the important fact that Krishna after a successful consolidation of his power in the Chalukyan dominions that he had already conquered, invaded Gangavadi and occupied it for a time. This military occupation appears to have been transitory, for the aged Ganga king is mentioned in inscriptions to have been successful in checkmating Ratta aggressions and even extending his kingdom towards the north by appropriating a part of the east of Bellary,³ and making a grant for a Jaina temple erected there by Kandachchi, consort of Paramagula.⁴

Although a great conqueror and warrior Sree Purusha was no barbarian. He wrote a treatise on elephants called Gajasastra and was considered an authority in the matter of elephant war-fare. Himself learned, he freely extended his patronage to men of letters. He listened to the creations of the poets

His
personality
and
character.

¹ E. C. XII. Md. 99.

² E. I. XIII. P. 275.

³ E. C. VI. Mg. 36.

⁴ E. C. IV. Ng. 85.

and the conversations of divines with great interest and drew around himself by means of his lavish generosity a galaxy of eminent poets and scholars. The poets praised him as Prajapati and the interior of his palace echoed the sound of the holy ceremonial chantings accompanying the great gifts made by him. Though a Jain he showed a great regard for the religious susceptibilities of the brahmins and made magnificent grants to Jaina,¹ and brahmin temples² alike. Sree Purusha is referred to in grants and lithic inscriptions with different titles and appellations as Prithvikonkani, Konkanimuttarasa, Permanadi Sree Vallabah, and Ranabhajana. He seems to have assumed in the last years of his life the imperial title Kongani Rajadhiraja Paramesvara Sree Purusha.

Sree Purusha had several sons by the two queens Vineyakin-Immadi and Vijayamahadevi of the Chalukya family. Sivamara, the eldest son of the king was governing Kadambur and Kunagalnad at the time of his father's death. Vijayaditya, son of Vijayamahadevi, was the governor of Keregodnad and Asandinad where he seems to have left successors who

¹ E. C. IV. Ng. 35.

I. A. II. 155, 370.

² E. C. X. G. B. 47.

E. C. VI. Mg. 36.

governed it for a long time. Duggamara was the viceroy of Kovalalanad, Belaturnad and Pulavakinad and Munad.¹ Sivagella probably the youngest son and also the famous general of Sree Purusha, who had won for his father a great reputation in the wars with the Rashtrakutas and the Pallavas did not survive his father to contest the throne with his brothers.

Sivamara, the eldest son of Sree Purusha, as soon as he came to the throne in 780 A.D. had to contend with his younger brother Duggamara who attempted to dispute the succession by open declaration of independence. Singapota, the Nolamba king and a feudatory of Sivamara rallied his forces against Duggamara and quelled the rebellion.² Sivamara's reign was marked by many reverses of fortune of the Gangas and the latter came to be subjected to calamities which threatened the extinction of the Ganga dynasty altogether.³ These troubles arose from the Rashtrakutas who had recently under Krishna I ousted the Eastern Chalukyas and established their own supremacy in Chalukyan territory. Though the Deoli grant testifies to the

Sivamara
Saigota.
780.812 A.D.

¹ E. C. X. KL. 16 ; M. A. 60. Sp. 15, 57.

² E. C. X. KL. 16 ; Mb. 80 ; Sp. 15-57.

³ E. C. IV. Ng. 60 ; *Ibid.* IX. Kg. 90.

supercession of Govinda by Dhruva, there are clear evidences pointing to the fact that supercession was not possible without stubborn resistance, and that Govinda made an attempt to secure the succession, for himself and called to his assistance in 780 A.D. the hostile kings of Malava, Kanchi, Vengi and of the Gangas.¹ Dhruva Nirupama or Dharavarsha easily overpowered his elder brother, and readily resorted to a chastisement of all his southern neighbours who had openly espoused the cause of his brother in securing the throne, and Sivamara, the most impetuous one among them, was seized and confined in a Rashtrakuta prison.²

The invasion of the Ganga kingdom and imprisonment of its ruler, disturbed the even tenor of Ganga sovereignty. Dharavarsha in his turn, desired his younger son Govinda to supersede his eldest son Khamba in their claims for the paramount sovereignty of the Rattas and the Deccan, and accordingly, placed Gangavadi which he had invaded and conquered under the rule of Khamba as a conciliatory measure.³ The Prince mentioned in inscriptions as Ranavaloka Khambaiya, accepted this humiliation of his supercession reluctantly, for the time being, and

¹ E. I. IV. 187; I. A. VI. P. 62.

² E. C. IX M. 61; E. I. 248; E. I. III. P. 104.

³ E. C. IV Hg. 93; E. C. II. S. B. No. 24.

ruled till the death of his father, as Viceroy of Gangavadi. When his younger brother ascended the throne, after his father's death, in 894 A. D. he soon formed a formidable confederacy of twelve kings to gain the throne to which he had a legitimate claim and rebelled against his brother. Dictated by reasons of policy, Govinda released Sivamara "from the burden of his cruel claims," and sent him back to his own submissive country,¹ probably with the intention of creating a rival against his brother who was then governing Gangavadi and the patrimony of the released prince. Foreseeing a fratricidal struggle imminent, Sivamara assumed imperial titles soon after his release, and joined the side of Khamba, who probably promised him restoration of the kingdom when he became the Emperor of the Rattas. Sivamara, accordingly made a victorious attack on the Rashtrakuta army, composed also of Chalukya and Haihaya troops who had encamped at *Mudugundur*, (Mandya Taluk) but was unable to hold long against his formidable adversary. For this act of insubordination (*Darpa Visaradhyah Pratikulye Sthitah*) he was taken prisoner, and the Manne plates graphically state this incident in the words, "Sivamara's pride

¹ I. A. V. P. 150 ; VI. 62, 70 ; XI. P. 161.

showing a return of hostility, before Govinda's brow was wrinkled in a frown was again subdued and easily bound."¹ Govinda, a great soldier, and skilful general alienated all his brother's adherents by a policy of conciliation and easily suppressed his rebellion and generously restored the sovereignty of Gangavadi to his repentant brother, who till his death continued to be loyal and devoted to his suzerain."² Thakki Raja followed Khamba after his death for a short period, as the chief ruler of Gangamandala.³ Like Khamba, Charuponnea of Nolambavadi, also readily acquiesced in the suzerainty of Govinda.

The wheel of fortune brought good luck once again to Sivamara. Govinda who was probably in need of allies to help him to consolidate his newly acquired possession, and to put down the Eastern Chalukyas, reinstated Sivamara in his kingdom. In order to show his new regard for him, he and the Pallava king Nandivarman II bound the diadem on Sivamara's brow with their own hands.⁴ The whole of his territory was restored to him, Marandale constituting the northern boundary of the newly restored terri-

¹ M. A. R. 1920. Para. 54.

² E. C. IX. NL. 61.

³ I. A. XII. P. 8.

⁴ E. C. IV. 1920. Para. 54.

tory. Sivamara's attention was engrossed after his return, in a hostility against Balavarman who had lately alienated himself from Chalukyan authority. He then successfully till 808 A. D.¹ waged a long, sanguinary war in combination with Govinda his overlord, against the Eastern Chalukya sovereign, Narendra Manga Raja Vijayaditya II, who is described as having fought a hundred and eight battles with the armies of the Gangas and the Rashtrakutas² for over a period of twelve years. During this period Govinda transferred the capital to Manyaketa a place of great strategical importance, in order that he may successfully encounter the Eastern Chalukyas. A formidable confederacy was formed sometime later, of Ganga, Kerala, Chola, Pandya and Kanchi princes, against Govinda while he was fighting in northern India. Consequently, immediately after his return Govinda made great preparations for the invasion of the south in 808 A. D. and actually debouched on the plains of the Carnatic, halted for a time at *Sribhavana*, (Cowl-durg Chitaldoorg district) and later inflicted a heavy defeat on the confederate army, in which several members of the Ganga army and royal

¹ E. C. XII. ML. 9; TP. 10.

² I. A. XX P. 101.

family perished. The Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha are silent about Sivamara's part in this momentous campaign of Govinda. The last years of Sivamara's reign appear to be utterly dark.

Sivamara was a great warrior. We are told in a rather realistic fashion that his anger in battles, drove hostile kings in a moment into the mouth of Yama horrid to behold, filled with turning entrails, blood and flesh, and as such he was appropriately styled Bheemakopa. His energy manifested itself not only in plans of war and conquest but also in liberalising the character of administration. He created and endowed a Jaina temple at Kummadavada, perhaps, the place of his confinement during his exile. He also built a Basadi on the smaller hill at Sravanabelgola. The generosity of Sivamara was prodigal and all inscriptions are unanimous in extolling his lavish gifts to the numerous Brahmin temples and other institutions. At the same time he stood as the bulwark of Jaina Dharma.

In spite of the vicissitudes in his fortunes which for a time marred the glory of his reign, he was unquestionably one of the ablest men among the crowned heads of the early middle ages. Of the kings

Liberal
character of
his adminis-
tration.

Estimate.

who sat on the throne of Gangavadi, he was undoubtedly one of the most learned and accomplished. Nature had endowed him with a beautiful form "surpassing that of cupid," a marvellous memory, a keen and penetrating intellect, and an enormous capacity for assimilating knowledge of all kinds. The versatility of his genius took by surprise all his contemporaries. He was a lover of fine arts, and the ornamental bridge which he built over the Kilini river to the north of Keregodu,¹ exemplifies his keen artistic proclivities. The grants of Marasimha describe him as a profoundly learned scholar, with a passion for culture and a gift for poetry. He was equally at home in logic, philosophy, grammar and other sciences. He was skilled in all matters connected with the stage and the drama. Even the most practised rhetoricians found it difficult to rival the brilliance of his imagination, and the subtleties and niceties of expression of which he was capable. Esteemed as a poet he took delight in composing poems in three languages. His *Gajasataka* which he wrote in Kannada² after a profound research into the methods of elephant management, as expounded by the great Yatigala Karemubhu,

¹ E. C. III. M. D. 113.

² E. C. VIII. N. 35. Karnataka Kavi Charite, Edn. 1924, 17.

was considered to be a composition of considerable literary merit, unique in rhythm and expression.¹ He was also the author of a work called *Setubhanda*. Not only was he possessed of a thorough knowledge of the art of elephant training but was also an authority in the science of management of horses and the science of archery. He was reputed to have mastered the difficult *Phanisutamata*, the yoga of Patanjali, after a long and profound study.

Sivamara, though removed from his country and kept in confinement in the early years, does not seem to have ever relinquished his claims to the kingdom. In spite of Rashtrakuta viceroys appointed to govern it, he seems to have made arrangements to maintain his rights. Dhruva and Govinda seem to have partitioned Gangavadi between Sivamara's son Marasimha, and Vijayaditya the brother of Sivamara, with a view to secure stability. Marasimha Ereyappa with the title of Lokatrinetra, claims to represent Ganga rule during his father's detention as prisoner.² Two Pallava princes, father and son, obtained permission from him to make a grant. The father's name was Kollyarasa and the Rashtrakuta king Govinda

¹ *Ibid.* VIII. M. 35.

² E. C. III. Sr. 160.

Prabhuta Varsha took Killy into his service.¹ Marasimha as Yuvaraja under the protection of the Rashtrakuta emperor ruled the entire Gangamandala, and decorated all his feudatories.² He probably founded a different line.

¹ E. C. VIII. Sb. 10.

² E. C. IX. M. 60.

CHAPTER IV

THE FOUNDATION OF A COLLATERAL LINE BY MARASIMHA AND PRITHIVIPATI

THE Alur, Manne and the Ganjam grants, the stone inscription at Sravanabelgola, the Vijayapura lithic inscription which are all assigned to a period between 797 and 800 A. D. show that Marasimha had commenced to rule by about 797 A.D., while his father Sivamara was in confinement. The lithic inscription¹ at Hindu-pur, dated Saka 775 or 853 A.D. is also attributed to Marasimha, though its authenticity is doubtful. Much remains to be discovered and explained before we can make a clear and consolidated story of these references to the long reign of Marasimha and the division of the kingdom between him and Rajamalla. The great vicissitudes in the fortunes of the royal family during Sivamara's sovereignty and after, might have necessitated a virtual partition of the kingdom between Marasimha who is represented as ruling till 853 A. D. and Vijayaditya's son Rajamalla Satyavakya who came to the throne in 817 A.D. Marasimha and his suc-

¹ M. A. R. 1913. Para. 16.

cessors ruled Kolar and north-eastern districts. It would appear that Durvinita and Dindika were the younger brothers of Marasimha, for the Karshanapalli¹ lithic inscription mentions a Durvinita as Dindiga's elder brother who was either identical with Marasimha or a different individual of whom little is known.

Dindiga bore the pompous title of Prithivipati or Pilduvipati. He was a great patron of Jainism and witnessed with his queen Kampita the Nirvana of the Jain Acharya *Aristanemi* on the Katvapra hill at Sravanabelgola. He gave his daughter Kundavvai in marriage to the Bana king, Vidhyadhara Vikramaditya Jayameru. He gave shelter to two princes *Nagadanta* and *Joriga* who fled to his court unable to resist the aggressions of Amoghavarsha. Resolved to vindicate their honour, he carried on ceaseless wars against his formidable Rashtrakuta adversary. He was wounded in the field of battle at Vaimbalguri, but stoically cut a piece of bone from his wound and sent it to be cast in the Ganges. Like his celebrated contemporaries Rajamalla Satyavakya and Butuga, he embroiled himself in the hostility between the Pallavas and the Pandyas waged for expansion and hege-

¹ M. A. R. 1913. No. 326.

mony. Aparajita came to the Pallava throne about 880 A.D. and Varaguna, his great Pandyan contemporary made an attempt to reassert the waning power of the Pandyas in Cholanad and Tondenad in close proximity to Prithivipati's territory. Aparajita checkmated the growing aggression of the Pandyan king and made inroads into Chola territory which was their chief bone of contention. Prithivipati, Aparajita's feudatory, assisted him in the great battle that was fought at *Sripurambiyam* (identified with *Tiruppurambiyam* near *Kumbakonam* in the *Tanjore* district) between Aparajita and Varaguna Pandya, in the year 880 A.D. and in the words of the *Udayendiram* plates which are too fulsome in their adulation of Prithivipati, "Having defeated by force the Pandyan lord Varaguna in the great battle of *Sripurambiyam*, and having made his friend Aparajita's title immortal, this Hero entered heaven by sacrificing his own life."¹ Aditya Chola who assisted Aparajita in this war like Prithivipati, probably got a part of the Pallava dominions as a reward which was made the nucleus of a great policy of expansion, inimical to the Pallavas themselves.² Important suc-

¹ S. I. I. II. 381 ; M. A. R. 1906, Part II. Para. 9.

² Neelakanta Sastry. The Pandyan kingdom P. 76.

cesses were gained and large slices of Pallava territory were confiscated to Chola dominions.

What part Prithivipati II who came to the throne in 880 A. D. played in the

Prithivi-
pati II.

Chola-Pallava struggle and ultimate conquest of Pallava territory is not known. We learn from inscriptions that he gained the support of Viranarayana, the great Parantaka I who came to the Chola throne in 907 A.D. Parantaka with a view to aggrandise his power waged a relentless war against Raja Simha Pandya in order to exterminate him. Likewise, he destroyed in the north of his kingdom, the Bana sovereignty, and bestowed it on Prithivipati, together with the titles of Banadhiraja and Hastimalla, about 921 A. D.¹ Prithivipati is the donor of the Udayandiram plates and is mentioned, in the Tatanakallu and Solapuram lithic inscriptions, which have been assigned to 925 A.D., with the alternative names of *Kannaradeva* and *Gangarayar*. He was first, the feudatory of Parantaka and subsequently of Rashtrakuta Krishna III and like his contemporary Nitimarga II in the main line, probably, acquiesced in Rashtrakuta overlordship, as the appellation *Kannaradeva* denotes. Ban-

¹ M. A. R. 1925, No. 86, P. 75.

Sh. II. 387.

keya the Rashtrakuta viceroy of Banavasi, defeated Prithivipati II and probably made him to accept the position of a Rashtrakuta feudatory. Prithivipati's kingdom was later invaded by Nolamba Polavira, son of Ayappa, the common foe of the Western Gangas,—which event might have led him to ally himself with Ganga Rajamalla III and accept him subsequently as his overlord. Naniya Ganga who succeeded him, lost his life in the field of battle while fighting in the army of Vira Nolamba against the king of the Santaras.

CHAPTER V

THE ADVANCE OF THE RASHTRAKUTAS AND THE PERILS OF THE GANGA KINGDOM

RAJAMALLA, son of Vijayaditya, succeeded Sivamara in the main line and got a kingdom which had considerably shrunk in size, than what had prevailed under his predecessors. His accession synchronised with the war which Banavidyadhara waged against him, and appropriated from his kingdom a large slice of territory, Gangavadi 6,000.¹ Rajamalla had to contend not only with his own feudatories but also against the most powerful Rashtrakuta sovereign Amoghavarsha² whose avowed ambition, after his accession, was the annexation of Gangavadi and its conversion into an integral part of his own vast empire. Large portions of Gangavadi in the north had already passed under Rashtrakuta control, when Sivamara was a prisoner under them. Sivamara's territory was placed under the rule of Nolamba princes, Sinhapota's son and grandson, once Sivamara's feudatories, who now accepted

¹ E. C. IX. Bn. 86.

² E. C. IV. 70. 60.

Rashtrakuta protection after his power was subverted. This territory inclusive of other provinces, constituted the Nolambavadi province.

It is probably with a view to secure the integrity of Gangavadi, that Rajamalla married on his restoration to his possessions, Simhapota's grand daughter, the younger sister of Nolambadhiraja, the viceroy, then ruling Gangavadi 6,000, and gave his own daughter Jayabbe, and the younger sister of Nitimarga in marriage to Nolamba Adhiraja Polalchora.¹ The latter is described as ruling over Ganga 6,000 under the Ganga king Nitimarga in one of his inscriptions.

These dynastic alliances were the first attempts which Rajamalla made with a view to alienate his feudatories from Rashtrakuta suzerainty and later repudiate his own allegiance to the Rashtrakuta sovereign. Factions in the imperial family, disloyalty of ministers, the truculence and insubordination of feudal chiefs and declaration of independence, attempts at disintegration of Rashtrakuta suzerainty by powerful neighbouring princes, caused the greatest amba-

Alliance
with the
Nolambas.

War
with the
Rastrakutas.

¹ E. C. XI. Si. 38, 24.

rassment to Amoghavarsha. The circumstances were so hostile that he had to abandon aggressive wars and resort to a policy of conciliation, for Gangavadi and other neighbouring kingdoms however effete and meagre in their military resources could no longer be conquered and annexed to Rashtrakuta dominions. His southern expeditions, were defensive, carried with the object of buttressing his vulnerable southern frontier. Still attempts at independence on the part of his neighbours particularly that of Rajamalla's by an astute policy of dynastic marriages were therefore, much resented by Amoghavarsha who ordered *Ban-kesa* or *Bankeyarasa* of the Chellaketana family and governor of Banavasi 12,000, Belgali 300, the Kumdur 500, Puligere 300,¹ "to uproot the lofty forest of fig trees of Gangavadi, difficult to be cut down."² He accordingly captured Kaidala (Kaidala near Tumkur) which was strongly fortified and defended. Having occupied that part of the country and placed it under Rashtrakuta rule, he pursued the Ganga king as far as Kaveri and threatened the conquest of the whole of Gangavadi 96,000.³ But

¹ Fleet, Kanarese, dynasties. P. 403.

² E. C. VI. 25.

³ E. C. XII. Tm. 9.

before any attempt at consolidation of newly acquired territory could be made, Bankesa, on account of some rebellion at home, was recalled by his overlord Amoghavarsha. The withdrawal of Rashtrakuta forces was a signal for Rajamalla in an heroic attempt to successfully take possession of all the territory which Sivamara had lost and establish his independence. According to an inscription, he rescued his country from the Rashtrakutas which they had held too long, as "Vishnu in the form of a Boar rescued the Earth from the infernal regions."¹ Only a part of the country round about Sivaganga remained under the control of Bankesa² the Rashtrakuta general, whose power was now wholly broken in Gangavadi. Rajamalla is praised like other kings of the dynasty for liberality, valour, just rule, intelligence, righteous conduct, and generosity towards fallen foes, constant flow of gifts, modesty and prowess.³

Rajamalla was succeeded by his son styled Nitimarga, a name which became an honorific designation of his successors. His real name was Ereyaganga and he is mentioned in some of the

Nitimarga,
837.870 A.D.

¹ E. C. IV. Yd. 60.

² E. C. XII. Tm. g; E. C. IX. NL. 84.

³ M. A. R. 1919. P. 63, 68.

inscriptions as Rana Vikramaditya.¹ He was also the contemporary of Amoghavarsha, the great Rashtrakuta king who ruled between 815 and 878 A.D. Amoghavarsha was engrossed in wars for a time with the western Gangas on the one side and with the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi on the other. Attempts at a reconquest of Gangavadi after Bankesa's withdrawal were unsuccessful. Nitimarga continued the policy of his father for retrieving the last glory of Gangavadi and bringing all lost dominions once again under Ganga banner.

Immediately after his accession to the throne he embarked on a career of ceaseless conquests, and waged a war against the Banas who had maintained intermittent hostility since the foundation of the Ganga kingdom and captured '*Banarasa Maharajara nad.*'² He was assisted in his invasion of the Bana kingdom by his brother-in-law *Nolambadhiraja Polavira*, governor of the Ganga 6,000. The latter sent a chief named Pompella with a contingent to reinforce Nitimarga's forces, but Pompella was slain in the battle at Muruggepadi.³

Against
the Banas.

¹ E. C. III. Yd. 60.

² E. C. X. Mb. 228; Mid. X. Ct. 30.

³ E. C. X. Kb. 79.

Meanwhile Amoghavarsha who had already subdued the Eastern Chalukyas, **Against Amoghavarsha Rashtrakuta.** under the grim determination of rebringing Gangavadi under his sway, waged a terrible war with Nitimarga. In this war, Amoghavarsha, was assisted by a confederacy of powerful feudatories. His army said to be replete with infuriated elephants and horses, triumphantly marched into Ganga territory. Nitimarga gave battle at Rajaramadu in 868 A.D. where after a terrible and bloody fight he inflicted a crushing defeat on his enemy and forced the Rashtrakuta army to retire with very heavy losses.

After this war, Amoghavarsha tried a different policy with the Gangas giving up his animosity in favour of alliance. **Amoghavarsha's policy towards the Gangas.** He gave his daughter Chandrabhalabbe "the handsome-limbed beautiful lady, the outcome of many blessings," in marriage to Butuga, the Ganga Yuvaraja, and another daughter Sankha to the Pallava king Nandi Varman III.¹

Nitimarga professed the Jaina faith like his great adversary Amoghavarsha and was the contemporary of the celebrated Jain Acharya Jinasena. He was, like his predecessors, a

¹ Bahur Plate Sii. P. 515.

great statesman and administrator and was liberal in his patronage of art and literature. Amoghavarsha seems to have entertained the highest admiration for the language, literature and culture of the people of Gangavadi, as testified to in *Kavirajamarga*, a Kannada treatise on poetics.

*Here is his tribute to the Kannada country
commemorated in verse.*

In all the circles of the earth
No fairer land you'll find,
Than that where rich sweet Kannada
voices the people's mind.
'Twixt sacred rivers twain, it is—
from famed Godavari,
To where the pilgrim rests his eyes
on holy Kaveri.

If you would hear its purest tone
to Kisuvalal go;
Or listen to the busy crowds
Through Kopana streets which flow;
or seek it in Onkuda's walls,
So justly famed in song
or where in Puligere's Court
The learned scholars throng.

The people of that land are skilled
 to speak in rhythmic tone;
 and quick to grasp a poet's thought,
 So kindred to their own.

Not students only, but the folk
 uptutored in the schools,
 By instinct use and understand
 The strict poetic rules.

I. 36-39. Tr. Rice: History of Kannada Literature.

Nitimarga died in 870 A.D. and was succeeded by Rajamalla.¹

Rajamalla Satyavakya as soon as he came to the throne had to contend with the Chalukyas of Vengi, the inveterate foes of the Rashtrakutas and the Gangas. No doubt, danger from the Rashtrakutas had disappeared owing to the astute matrimonial policy of Amoghavarsha, who in the last years of his reign not only gave his daughter Chandrabhalabbe to Butuga, but also developed the most cordial and friendly relations with the Gangas, and desisted from all attacks as if in appreciation of the glorious and vigorous defence they had made for their territory and the dubious victories they had gained over him. The Gangas, though they did

¹ E. C. III. Tn. 91.

not bear enmity towards the Eastern Chalukyas, provoked their hostilities, later, as the allies of the Rashtrakutas. Danger from the north-east centre where the Chalukya Sunka Vijayaditya III adopted a menacing attitude, and from Nolambaadhiraja Mahendra, who exercised *de facto* sovereignty within his jurisdiction Ganga-vadi 6,000, and who aspired to universal dominion and made no secret of his ambitions,—engendered a situation which caused Rajamalla and Butuga not a little embarrassment. The Kongu country was the bone of contention between the Pandyas and the Pallavas, and in the conflict for Kongu overlordship, the Ganga kings had played the part of a ballast to maintain balance of power. The proximity of Gangavadi to Kongunad where there was the intensification of the struggle for hegemony, was an invitation for Ganga intervention, not only to buttress their vulnerable south-eastern frontier but also to extend their sphere of influence in Kongu territory.

The glory of Rajamalla's reign is a reflection of Butuga's achievements. He was Yuvaraja during his brother's universal sovereignty and governed Kongalnad and Ponnad.¹ The Kudlur and Keregodu Rangapura plates² describe

¹ E. C. III. Nj. 75.

² M.A.R. 1919. 63-68 ; *Ibid.* 1921.

him as the harasser of the Pallava family by his prowess, and state that he was surrounded by the army of subjugated enemies. Butuga defeated¹ the invincible Rajaraja, probably a Chola Prince. Five times he overcame in fight the Kongas who resisted his tying up of elephants and he captured many horses according to the old custom.² He also inflicted a heavy defeat on the Nolamba king Mahendra at Hiri-yur and Surur. His wars with Gunaka, Vijayaditya III (844-88) who claimed the distinction of having conquered the unequalled Gangas and frightened the Rashtrakutas, were long and sanguinary. The cause for this animosity between Vijayaditya and the Ganga king is a mystery. The efforts of Amoghavarsha and Krishna II to overpower the Vengis, the Gangas and their Nolamba feudatories were exhaustive and unavailing. The Vengis under Vijayaditya were still powerful on the eastern frontier. Krishna II contemplated probably a diplomatic manoeuvre, therefore, of inciting Vijayaditya to invade Nolambavadi, by the offer of money, men and other sinews of war and a free passage to the Vengi army to that territory, for that would lead to a complete exhaustion of the re-

¹ E. C. III. Supplement. Nj. 269. Gutavadi plates.

² Mysore and Coorg from Cis. 44.

sources of the contending kingdoms and create opportunities for easy conquest and annexation of territory. Vijayaditya invaded Nolambavadi that lay between Vengi-mandala and Ganga territory and killed the valiant general of the Nolambas, *Mangi*, by an act of perfidy. This success was followed in its wake by a general advance into Ganga territory and the capture of a few forts near the Ganga boundary. The inscriptions extol the valour and personal gallantry which Butuga and Rajamalla displayed in the battles of Remiya and Gungur¹ which they fought unsuccessfully against Vijayaditya. There was an outbreak of fresh hostilities between the Rattas, Gangas and the Eastern Chalukyas, when Bhima I succeeded Vijayaditya. Bhima appears to have defeated Krishna and his Karnataka allies in the battles of *Niravadyapura* and *Peruvangura Grama*.²

Butuga was surnamed *Gunadattaranga* and was married to Abbalabbe or Chandralabbe, daughter of Amoghavarsha I. The policy of dynastic alliances of Amoghavarsha had not merely brought about the adherence of the Gangas and Pallavas to the Rashtrakuta overlordship, but had also tended to cement the former,

¹ M.A.R. 1919. P. 63, 68.

² Saletore: The Rashtrakutas and their times, 79.

by many ties of kinship, till lately in traditional animosity with each other. Butuga and Nandivarman jointly carried on a war against the Pandyan king Srimara and suffered a defeat at *Kudamukku*,¹ (Kumbakonam), where the Pandyan sovereign repulsed, the confederation of the Pallavas, Gangas, Cholas, Kalingas and the Magadhas with great losses. This victory seems to have considerably enhanced the military reputation of Srimara and earned for him the high sounding title of *Parachakra Kolahala*. Undaunted by this humiliation, Butuga later assisted his nephew, and son of the Rashtrakuta princess Sankha, Nripatunga Varman, who succeeded Nandi of Tellaru in 884 A.D., in his campaign against Srimara who had previously inflicted a defeat on him. In the Bahur plates it is said "The army of the Pallavas which on a former occasion sustained defeat at the hands of the Pandyan king, was by the grace of this king (Nripatunga Varman) able to burn down hosts of the enemies together with the prosperity of their kingdom on the bank of the river *Aricit*." It is clear from this, that though Srimara won a great victory once, lived long enough to sustain a defeat at the hands of Nri-

¹ M. A. R. 1907. Pp. 63.

patunga Varman at Aricit.¹ Butuga must have died before his elder brother.

With the glorious death of Butuga in the field of battle, Ereganga his son by the Rashtrakuta princess became Yuvaraja and was associated with his uncle Satyavakya in the government of the kingdom. He was crowned king under the name of Ereyappa about 886 A.D. His mother was entrusted with the government of Kunigal while he was placed in charge of Kongalnad 8,000, Nugunad and Navale and other provinces.² Rajamalla who exercised dual sovereignty with his nephew, made generous grants to brahmins and Jains. He made a gift of twelve villages on the Peddoragere (Lakshmanathirtha) to a jain priest, for the benefit of the Satyavakya jaina temple on the Panne Kadanga in Coorg. He seems to have encouraged his subjects to works of merit and devoted service, by bestowing on them marks of royal favour, such as binding the *Permanadi Patta* on the foreheads of persons, and fixing the land rent and rice dues in permanance. The Keregod³ Rangapura plates describe him as adorned with good qualities and the virtues of Mandhata and other ancient kings, and as the illumi-

¹ Neelakanta Sastri. Pandyan kingdom. P. 75.

² E. C. IV. Hg. 103 ; *Ibid.* IV. Hs. 92 ; III. Nj. 130.

³ M.A.R. 1919. P. 63, 68.

nator of his family.¹ He seems to have died at a place called Kombale, from hiccough owing to a phlegm sticking in his throat. Certain devoted men committed themselves to death in the fire through sorrow for his decease.²

Ereyappa who was associated with his uncle in the government of the kingdom, and was viceroy of Nitimarga II, Ereyappa or 907.920 A.D. Nugunad, Navalnad, and Kongalnad,³ ascended the throne about 907 A. D. and began a career of conquest and consolidation.

Conflicts with the Ballaha Krishna II though not of such virulence as in the time of his predecessors, were still of such magnitude as to disturb the tranquility of his kingdom. *Lokadeyarasa* of Bankesa Challaketana family, a feudatory of Krishna II, and governor of the Banavasi province, stationed at Venkapura, was a source of great menace to Ereyappa.⁴ The Virgals at Buraganahalli and Karbale, record conflicts⁵ with this Mahasamanta at *Galanjanur* and other places. Krishna's suzerainty over Gangavadi was undisputed, and

¹ Hyvadana Rao Gazetteer. Vol. II. 659.

² E. C. V. 5, 27.

³ E. C. IV. Hg. 103; E. C. IV; Hs. 92; IV Nj. 130, 139.

⁴ I. A. XII. P. 217.

⁵ M.A.R. 1914-15. Page 65; E. C. Bn. 83-87.

Prachanda Dandanayaka Sampaiya described in lithic inscriptions as bearing the burden of the whole kingdom, was stationed at the old Ganga capital, Manne as the general of all the South.¹ This leads to the reasonable conclusion that the Gangas, inspite of the great efforts at independence of Nitimarga and Rajamalla had virtually become the feudatories of the Rashtrakutas, a situation worked out astutely and sagaciously by Amoghavarsha's matrimonial policy.

Another great adversary of Ereyappa was Mahendra, son of Nolambhadhiraja Polalchora and Jayabbe, the Ganga princess. As viceroy he ruled in conjunction with his son Ayappa over a territory up to Kirutore as its boundary and extended it eastwards as far as Srinivasapur Taluk.² He then assumed independence in 878 A.D.³ and ruled the kingdom as an independent sovereign and challenged the Ganga overlordship. He destroyed the Banas, which conquest brought him the titles of *Tribhuvanadhira* and *Mahavalikula Vidvamsanam*.⁴ This conquest led gradually to the annexation of territory as far as Kanchi⁵ inclusive of *Dharmapuri* and *Gadivipuri*, the capital of the

¹ E. C. VIII. Sb. 546, 91, 88; Ng. 23.

² III. Md. IB; XII. ML. 52; III. Md. 14.

³ E. C. X. Sp. 30; E. C. XII. S. 38; VI. Cm. 129.

⁴ E. I. X. 65.

⁵ M.A.R. 1913. Para. 13.

Banas. His aggressions into Bana and Pulinadu country with the clandestine support of Kaduvetti and without the authority of his Ganga overlord was *causa belli* for a war against him in the first instance by Butuga and later on by his celebrated son Ereyappa who pursued it relentlessly with a view to terminate Mahendra's sinister designs on dominion and his policy of territorial aggrandisement. Ereyappa's band of noble chiefs like Naggatara¹ and Dharasena fought bravely against him at *Tumbepadi* and *Bengaluru* and sacrificed their lives, in devotion for their master. Nitimarga slew Mahendra in one of the fiercely fought battles at *Penjeru*, and this act of valour earned for him the distinctive title of *Mahendrantaka*.² He then captured speedily *Surur*, *Nadugani*, *Midige*, *Sulisailendra*, the lofty *Tipperu*, *Penjeru*, and other impregnable fortresses and brought down the pride of their owners. Probably it was during this period, that the Cholas who had regained some of their original importance and had about the end of the ninth century made themselves sufficiently important to exercise an influence upon the politics of the Deccan now under the

¹ E. C. IV. Bn. 83.

52; E. I. VI. 46.

² Rice, Mysore Vol. I. P. 315; Nagar. 35; E. P. Ind. VI. 47.

celebrated Parantaka (907-947 A.D.) extinguished Pallava supremacy and established their own suzerainty over the disintegrated Pallava dominions. Parantaka uprooted the Banas and conferred the Bana sovereignty on the Ganga prince Prithivipathi II together with the title Hastimalla. The latter was a scion of the Ganga family ruling the province as a Ganga feudatory.¹

Nitimarga II like his father was a great warrior. The Kudlur plates of Marasimha speak of him as a great soldier, fearless in battle, a Bharata in the arts of singing, instrumental music, and dancing, an authority on grammar and politics, and as solicitous of the welfare of his subjects and feudatories as Nolambas, Banas and Sagaras of Bevir.² He had the title *Komaravedanga* and *Kamada* and married Jakebbe, the daughter of Nijagali a Chalukyan Prince. He made grants to brahmins and to Jain temples built at *Mudahalli* and *Toremavu*. He was assisted by Nagavarman, Narasinga, Govindara, Dharasena, and Echayya, a band of noble and devoted ministers who not only participated in his wars but also helped him in the task of government and displayed the intelli-

¹ S. I. I. II. 387.

² Gattavadi Plates. E. C. XII, Supplement Nj. 269; Sii II. 387.

gence of Brihaspati and Mandhata in their skill in politics.¹

Nitimarga left three sons, Narasimhadeva, Rajamalla and Butuga. Narasimhadeva was learned in the science of politics, of elephants and archery, and was equally proficient in drama, grammar, medicine, poetry, and music. He was renowned for valour and had the titles of *Satyavakya* and *Viravedenga*.

Narasimha's reign probably was very brief and uneventful for he was succeeded by his younger brother Rajamalla III entitled *Satyavakya* and *Nacheya Ganga*, and Nitimarga immediately after his father's death. War was revived with the Nolamba Princes Ayappa and Anneya who were contending with the Rashtrakutas on the one hand and Eastern Chalukyas under Bhima II, on the other with the object of frustrating the latter's design on their territory. Ayappa fell in a battle which he fought against Chalukya Bhima II² in 934 A.D. His son Anneya, the son of the Ganga Princess Pollabbe, enjoyed a vast extent of territory as an independent ruler and acknowledged no paramount power³ over him. He now

Rajamalla III,
920.937 A.D.

¹ M.A.R. 1908-9. P. 59.

² E. I. X. 62.

³ E. C. X. Nb. 122.

stoutly resisted the Eastern Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas and made an invasion of Gangavadi and encountered Aniyagaunda¹ and other heroes of Rajamalla's army at *Kottamangala*. Several heroes fell in the field of battle, and Anneyya surrendered on the promise of safety to himself and to his troops. Later, he sustained another humiliating defeat at the hands of Rashtrakuta king Krishna III.² Before Rajamalla could contemplate consolidation of territory threatened by Nolamba aggression, and which he had eventually won his younger brother Butuga gained possession of the whole of Gangavadi,³ probably with the help of Kannara. We learn from the Isamudru inscription that this Kannara of great might, slew Ganga permanadi and gave the throne to Bhuvallabha.⁴ Rajamalla II's son Ereyaganga and his descendants who were deprived of sovereignty contented themselves with the small principality that were assigned to them in the north-western part of the Shimoga District.

¹ M.A.R. 1925. No. 86.

² E. I. IV. 289; E. I. V. 191.

³ E. C. III. Ma. 41. Hg. 116; E. I. IV. 249.

⁴ E. C. XI. Cg. 76.

CHAPTER VI

THE GANGA EMPIRE UNDER BUTUGA AND MARASIMHA AND ITS DECLINE AND FALL AFTER THEIR DEATH

BUTUGA celebrated in history as *Ganga Narayana*, *Ganga Gangeya*, *Nanniya Ganga*, came to the throne after his brother's short, tragic but eventful career.¹ With Butuga, considerable changes occurred in the Ganga dominions. As Yuvaraja he had aimed at a division of the kingdom and probably at the most favourable opportunity with the support of a few chiefs, and of Boddega or Amoghavarsha III overpowered his brother and came to the throne. Amoghavarsha and Rajamalla fought a battle in which one Boyega, a servant of *Ganga Vajra* Rajamalla, rallied his retreating forces and made an unsuccessful but impetuous attack on Amoghavarsha's army near Sravanabelgola. As Rashtrakuta overlordship was complete and unchallenged over Gangavadi by this time it was but natural that the most cordial relations existed between the Gangas and the Rashtrakutas.

¹ V. Hn. 14; XII. Tp. 10.

A sort of defensive and offensive alliance seems to have been entered into between Butuga and Amoghavarsha for the latter felt that his claims to the throne would be challenged by his own brother and cousins. This alliance was sealed by Amoghavarsha's offer of his daughter Revaka in marriage to Butuga,¹ together with a dowry of territory inclusive of the Ganga kingdom, the Biligere 300 the Belvola 300, the Kisuvad 70 and the Bagenad 704 (provinces in the present Dharwar, Belgaum and Bijapur districts). The first child of this union Maruladeva was born while Amoghavarsha was still on the throne.

Butuga's career, full of strenuous activity extending over a period of twenty years is almost unique in the annals of Gangavadi. The first half of the tenth century was a period of unprecedented storm and stress, when the exaltation of the kingly office by restoration of law and order was the prime need of the time. The Cholas who had supplanted the Pallavas were gradually encroaching on all the territories which once constituted the Pallava kingdom. Nolamba Vaidumba and other minor principalities were struggling against the overwhelm-

¹ E. I. IV. 350.

E. C. III. In. 41; III. 175.

ing forces brought against them, by their powerful but hostile neighbours, the Eastern Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas. Though Butuga could have repudiated Rashtrakuta overlordship and their hegemony of the Deccan by an alliance with the southern forces, as a discretionary measure, acquiesced in Rashtrakuta authority and pursued a consistent and friendly policy cemented by dynastic marriages. On the death of Boddega, Butuga assisted his son Krishna III, or Kannara, as an act of reciprocation of loyalties, in securing the throne from an usurper Lalliya, and in the reorganisation of the empire. Krishna was probably absent in northern India at the time of his father's death, on a military expedition, an event which gave to Lalliya an opportunity to hoist the flag of revolt. This was readily put down by Butuga before the return of Krishna. Butuga not only took elephants, horses, and the throne from Lalliya's possession, and gave them to Krishna, but also defeated and silenced Kakka Raja of Achalapura, Dantivarma of Vanavasi, Ajavarma lord of Santaras, Nagavarma and Damari lord of Nulugurri, and a host of others who espoused the cause of Lalliya's in the usurpation of the Rashtrakuta throne. Kannara was soon after engaged in a war with the Chola king Rajaditya Muvadichola in charge of Tondaimanda-

lam (in the neighbourhood of North Arcot district). Rajaditya consolidated the conquests of his father Parantaka in Banavadi and other places and contemplated further territorial aggrandisement by inroads into Rashtrakuta country in close proximity to his own. Krishna decided to attack the chola kingdom ostensibly with the object of reinstating Vikramaditya III and concealed his real intentions of annexing as much of the southern territory as possible. This led to a series of bloody episodes in which fortune befriended now the one and now the other, till at last Butuga and Kannara emerged triumphant. The crown prince Rajaditya in the year 949 A.D. led the Chola forces to the battlefield of Takkolam and fought obstinately with the Rashtrakuta forces strengthened by a contingent under Butuga. The latter with archers, the very flower of his army and the Rashtrakuta contingent under *Manalara* and *Kotaya dandanayaka* son of Dilipa Aniga, made an impetuous attack on Rajaditya and killed him in single combat. In the words of the Leyden grant Rajaditya "Went to the world of heroes being pierced in the heart while seated on the back of his elephant."¹

Butuga and Krishna III followed up this

¹ M. E. R. 1911. P. 22 ; E. P. I. IV P. 280.

victory, by occupation of Tondaimandalam, and carrying the war into the Chola country and besieging Kanchi, Tanjore, and Nalkote. Butuga in this campaign was assisted by Manalara described as the boon-lord of Valabhi¹ and the supreme king of 'the broad white flag' and as having done the greatest slaughter in battle which earned for him the distinctive titles of *Sudraka* and *Sagara Trinetra*. Manalara and Butuga were the heroes who made a rally, when the Rashtrakutas were overwhelmed in the battle, and killed the royal elephant on which Rajaditya was seated. When Krishna pleased with Manalara's martial achievements granted a boon, befitting a good and noble soldier the latter solicited from his sovereign the favour of a small strip of land, wherein he could bury his hound that had fought desperately with a boar and had subsequently died. Manalara² set up a stone in its memory, in Atukur in front of the Challeswara temple and granted a piece of land for its maintenance. Krishna on his return from the campaign, halted at Melpati near Tiruvalem (in the North Arcot district) for parcelling territories among his dependents, for receiving tributes from his feudatories and for establishing Kalapriya, Gandamarthanda, Krishne-

¹ E. C. III. Int. 6; E. C. III. Tn. 102.

² Hyvadana Rao. Gazetteer P. II. 671.

svara and other temples. Butuga on his return from this glorious campaign took Chitrakuta by assault and conquered the seven Malavas, the boundaries of which he marked with stones, and gave the country the name of *Malava Ganga*. Probably he fought also against Dilipa Nolamba and forced him to capitulate.¹ For the important service he had rendered in the expedition in 949 A.D. Kanara confirmed him in the possession of the Banavasi 12,000, Belvola, Belegere, Kisukad, and Bagenad provinces² in the Dharwar Belgaum and Bijapur districts. Like his predecessors, Butuga used the titles of Maharajadhiraja, while acknowledging the sovereignty of the Rashtrakutas.

Like his illustrious predecessors he also followed their policy of liberal administration. Like them he made grants to basadis and brahmins. He appears to have been well versed in Jain philosophy and often seems to have participated in the theological controversies held in his court. He is reported according to the Kudlur plates to have worsted a Buddhist controversialist in an open debate in refutation of the Elkanthamatha doctrine.

Butuga's sister Pambabbe, widow of Dhora-payya, to his great sorrow died in 971 A.D.,

¹ M. A. R. 1917. Para. 85.

² E. C. III. MP. 41; E. I. VII. 194.

Marasimha,
960.973 A.D.

after thirty years of strenuous and austere ascetic life. Butuga's daughter by Revaka, the Rashtrakuta princess, was married to Amoghavarsha IV son of Krishna III who probably predeceased his father. This princess was the mother of Indraraja, the last of the Rashtrakutas.¹ Butuga's son Maruladeva Panuseya Ganga married the daughter of Krishna III and obtained from him the umbrella *Madanavatara* a distinction which was not conferred on any other prince. Marula's titles were *Gangamartanda*, *Ganga-chakrayudha*, *Kamada*, *Kaliyuga Bhima*, *Kirthi-Manobhava*. His mother was Revakanimmadi with the title *Cagavedangi*. But the successor of Butuga on the throne was another son by name Marasimha, celebrated in the history of Gangavadi as *Gutiya Ganga* and *Nolambantaka*. The Hebbal inscriptions state that after Maruladeva had reigned, there came another son of Butuga by his wife *Kallabhara* or *Kallabarasi*, named Satyavakya Konganivarman Permanadi Marasimha, with a variety of Birudas, such as "*Chalad-Uttaranga*, the arch of firmness of character," "*Dharmavatara* or incarnation of religion," *Jagadekavira* the sole hero of the world, *Gangara Simha* 'Lion

of the Gangas,' *Gangavajra*, "The Ganga diamond, *Ganga Kandarpa*, The Ganga God of Love, and *Nolamba Kulantaka*, the destroyer of the family of the Nolamba Pallavas, *Ganga Chudamani*, *Vidhyadhara* and *Muttiya Ganga*." He was easily the greatest personality who figured on the stage of Gangavadi.

The Kudlur plates which furnish a few personal touches, relating this sovereign, record his reputation during his boyhood for prodigious physical strength and military prowess, for his respect to gurus and obedience to teachers, for gentleness and generosity of character and for scholarship. His reign appears to have been literally crowded with military engagements, sieges, and invasions. The policy of dynastic alliances with the Rashtrakutas which had enabled his father to make considerable additions to his territory was the one which he also pursued to realise his objects of military aggrandisement. That he tried to realise his ambition as a faithful and devoted feudatory of Krishna III is made clear in his grants of 963 A.D.¹ which state that Rashtrakuta Krishna when setting out on an expedition to the north to conquer Asvapati, himself performed the ceremony of crowning Marasimha as the ruler

¹ E. C. II. Sb. 38.

of Gangavadi.¹ Subsequently he was employed by Krishna III to command an expedition to Gujarat to protect the Kalachuris from an attack by the Gurjaras. He defeated there Mularaja of Anhilwad, and Siyaka the Paramara feudatory of the Rashtrakutas governing Malwa and northern Gujarat. Marasimha came to be known after this success as *Gurjaradhiraja*. Two of Marasimha's captains Sudrakayya and Goggiyamma for their great distinction in the war and for rescuing the hill forts of Kalanjara and Chitrakuta, earned the titles of *Ujjeni Bhujangas*.² These captains were also appointed to rule Kadambalige 1,000 probably as a reward for the meritorious services they had rendered in the expedition against the ruler of Malwa. An elaborate account of Marasimha's achievements is given in one of the Sravanabelgola records. This record reveals to us that Marasimha was victorious in battles fought on the banks of the Tapti and succeeded in dispersing, the Kirathas dwelling on the skirts of the Vindhya forests; that he protected the army of Krishna at Manyakheta, when it was threatened with destruction by Siyaka who invaded and sacked the capital as

¹ M.A.R. 1921. P. 26; E. I. IV. 280.

² E. C. XI.

a retaliatory measure. Inscriptions state that Marasimha also defeated Vajjala the younger brother of Patalamalla; that he captured all the possessions including jewels and elephants of the ruler of the Banavasi country, Kaduvitta Mahasamanta who harboured designs of independence. These facts testify to Marasimha's loyalty and devotion as a feudatory and as a great bulwork of Rashtrakuta hegemony of the Deccan. Marasimha encountered also, the Chola Prince Rajaditya¹ who made through anger a brave declaration of war at a great festival of victory, and defeated him and took by storm the hill fortress of Uchchangi (near Molakalamuru) which had proved impregnable even to Kaduvetti.² He next marched against the Sabara leader Naraga a bandit renowned for his depredatory expeditions, encountered him at *Gonnur* in Banavasi country, defeated and killed him and captured his stronghold *Pabhase*. Many members of the army distinguished themselves in this campaign, and one of this band was Amavasayya who repeated the exploits of Butuga by making his howdah his battlefield and killing with a dagger his opponent in a single combat.³ In this war of extirpation and

¹ E. I. IV. P. 280.

² M. A. R. 1911. P. 37.

³ E. C. III. Mr. 41.

subjugation of territory, Marasimha relentlessly and systematically suppressed the truculence of the chiefs and their attempts at independence.

This period of the successful termination of the war and punitive expeditions undertaken by Marasimha against powerful chiefs, synchronised with the fratricidal war which broke out in the Rashtrakuta dominions among the claimants to the throne of Krishna III who died in 966 A.D. The conditions that developed after his death were absolutely unfavourable for the maintenance of the integrity of Rashtrakuta power, on which Marasimha himself had depended for augmenting his own prestige and territorial limits. The Rashtrakuta state owed her strength to the devotion, military genius and dogged perseverance of her sovereigns, and her success to the policy of making the very peoples whose independence, she was forced to curtail, partakers by gradual incorporation, in her own supremacy. At the height of her power, her allies had aspired to a participation in her wars, as a privilege, which at first they had regarded as a degradation. Out of this great empire which her emperors, and Krishna had sedulously built up with the unflinching aid of Butuga and Marasimha, several principalities which were not knit together by any principle

of unity or cohesion came into existence and asserted their independence. State fought against state for leadership and only for a period of eight years after Krishna's death that his successor with the indefatigable support of Marasimha could maintain their paramountcy and effectively hold in check the forces of disruption that were becoming universal. The forward and aggressive policy of Krishna had alienated the sympathies of his feudatories. No effective consolidation was attempted in the south where extensive conquests had brought a large slice of territory to Rashtrakuta dominions. The Paramaras and the Chedis, who later grew into a great power, were left undisturbed, to carry on their policy of expansion inimical to the Rashtrakuta interests in the northern boundary. Silaharas of Konkon, Rattas of Sundatti and Yadavas, established their independence. Khottiga and Kakka II who succeeded Krishna, by their weak and effete sovereignty provided ample opportunities for the ambitious designs of Taila II, a scion of the old Chalukyan stock, to subvert the empire at a convenient opportunity. Marasimha, after the overthrowal of Kakka and his expulsion from Manyaketa by Taila, endeavoured to prop up the claims of his son-in-law Indra to the throne,¹

¹ E. C. II. 59.

in the teeth of violent hostility. He failed in his efforts as Rashtrakuta power was shattered, beyond all recovery by the Chalukyas. Still his reputation as a conqueror was great and he enjoyed in addition to his patrimony the government of Puligere 300 and Belvala and other provinces, and at some time during his reign, he had under his control even the government of a very large area, extending as far as Krishna inclusive of the Banavasi 12,000, Nolambavadi 32,000 and Santalige 1,000, situated in the west of Gangavadi.¹ The disintegration of Rashtrakuta dominions, consequently was a source of serious embarrassment to him, as he had always depended for the development of his power on Rashtrakuta alliance.

Marasimha in the last years of his life was confronted with a dangerous situation. The menacing attitude and the encroachments of the Nolamba feudatories on Gangavadi considerably alarmed Marasimha and urged him to make a determined attack on them with a view to extinguish their power. The Nolamba descendants of the great Mahendra I after his death in the field of battle at the hands of Ereyaganga, took service under the Rashtrakutas and helped the latter in the invasion of the Chola coun-

¹ E. I. IV. 352. Fleet: Kanarese dynasties P. 301.

try. It was this acceptance of the position of a feudatory and the help rendered to Krishna III in the invasion of the provinces of Tondaimandalam that enabled them to redeem their power in Nolambavadi and open up hostilities against the Gangas their traditional enemy. As the Nolambas "misbehaved themselves through self conceit, and arrogance due to strength of hundreds of princes who composed the army and the pride of troops and of elephants," Marasimha led a large army against them, overran their country and destroyed the Nolamba family and earned the distinctive title of *Nolamba Kulantaka*. According to the Sra-
vanabelgola epitaph and Kudlur plates there seems to have been a general massacre of all the Nolambas, in the campaign that Marasimha led against them. Three of the princes Butiga, Nolipa,¹ Kattanemalla, seem, however, to have escaped the general massacre and hid themselves in some sequestered part of Banavasi, and a few years later hearing with great relief, the news of Marasimha's death, slowly recovered their lost dominions² which they continued to rule for another period of nearly three centuries.³ By such drastic punishments and relent-

¹ E. C. X. Mb. 84.

² M.A.R. 1924. 47-70.

³ E. C. X. P. 59.

less measures however, Marasimha suppressed all elements of disorder and taught the people of Nolambavadi, obedience and submission and fear of the governing power, the basis of all good government and the source of the glory and splendour of states. He returned to Bankapur about 972 A.D. and after making an unsuccessful attempt to end his days in religious exercises at the feet of *Agitasena*, observed the vow of *Sallekhana* for three days and passed away in 974 A.D. His son-in-law Indra, prostrate and despondent, after great vicissitudes in his life, and privation and misery, eight years later in 982 A.D. returned to Sravanabelgola and starved himself to death by the Jaina rite of *Sallekhana*.

We might well believe the composer of the Kudlur plates when he says that Marasimha "delighted in doing good to others, and when he praises the prince's renunciation of other women and wealth, his aversion in the matter of giving ear to evil report regarding the good, his diligence in making gifts to sages and brahmins, his solicitude for those who sought his protection." His love of religion, learning, and piety and the animal world as typified by the worship of the cow indicates the general bent of his mind. The Gokal Hebbatta containing a Sarvatobhadra, and Virgals at Niduvani and

Nagamangala bear testimony to his love of the animal kind, while grants to a great scholar and grammarian *Yadigangala Bhatta*, and others bear out his lavish generosity and love of learning. He was humble, merciful, truth loving, faithful and pious and he delighted in the conversations of the divines and poets. Himself an expert in grammar, logic, philosophy and literature and sciences of politics, and elephant warfare he extended patronage to eminent poets and philosophers and scholars. It is probable that learned men from other parts assembled in his court and sang the praise of the conqueror who even in the midst of an arduous campaign snatched a brief interval of time to listen to a poem or a song. This Danachudamani's spoken word was a written bond and it is no wonder that *Nagavarman* and *Kesiraja* who quote the verse in the Sravanabelgola epitaph in their respective works, fully endorse this eulogistic testimony. In the estimate of the composer of the Kudlur plates who is too fulsome in his adulations of his king, Marasimha was a great leader of men, a just and upright ruler, an intrepid and gifted soldier, a dispenser of justice, a patron of letters and as such deserves to be ranked among the great kings who ruled Gangavadi.

But his work did not endure. In his scheme

consolidation did not keep pace with conquest and that is why the mighty fabric he had built up, in an incredibly short time crumbled to pieces in the hands of weak successors. The elements of decay silently gathered strength; and they began to assert themselves as soon as his master hand was stiffened in death. The enemies whom he had subdued were only waiting for an opportunity to strike a blow at independence and they were a huge agglomeration of peoples who could be held in check only by an argus-eyed sovereign.

While the sons of Marasimha, Rajamalla and Rajamalla IV, 977.985 A.D. Rakkasa Ganga styled also as *Annanabanta* were in the country round Biddoregere (Lakshmana tirtha) at the time of his death, effective attempts at usurpation were made by Panchaladeva and Mudu Rachayya. Panchaladeva Mahasamanta governor of a circle of thirty villages, Puligere and Belvola which he held under Marasimha in 972 A.D.,¹ took advantage of the general confusion that attended the downfall of the Rashtrakuta power and the death of Marasimha, to set himself up as an independent king. He reigned as paramount sovereign in 974-75 A.D. over the whole country "Bounded by the eastern, west-

¹ I. A. Vol. XII. 255.

ern and southern oceans," and proclaimed himself as an emperor in opposition to Taila. The Ganga minister Chaundaraya, and Chalukya Taila, in subjugating the recalcitrant states, successfully thwarted Panchala's sinister designs at usurpation, and encountered him in the field of battle and killed him in 975 A.D.¹ Mudu Rachayya, another usurper who had slain Nagavarma, Chaundaraya's younger brother, and had assumed the Ganga titles *Chaladanka Ganga* and *Gangarabanta* was killed in the battle of Bageyur by Chaundaraya who thus avenged his brother's death. He also thereby removed the chief obstacles in the way of Rajamalla ascending the throne and for this service to the state earned the title of "*Samara Parasurama*." In the war against these usurpers several devoted servants of the royal family also rendered conspicuous service by removing the young princes Rajamalla and Rakkasa, on to a place of safety, and after a remarkable display of valour rushed to death.² Saviabbe, a daughter of Rakkasa Ganga's guardian Boyiga, out of the affection she bore to her husband accompanied him to battle and fell at his side.

Chaundaraya who stamped out sedition and established order became the minister and gene-

¹ E. I. V. 372.

² E. C. II. No. 60-61.

ral of Rajamalla IV. Though he was armed with unlimited powers, he behaved with great moderation; and with a singleness of aim which has no parallel in the history of Ganga dynasty, he devoted himself to the service of the state. His whole career might be summed up in the word "Devotion." Devoted he was to the interests of the Gangas, and ideal of territorial expansion and administrative reform. He waged wars and subdued provinces that had alienated themselves from the control of the Ganga kings.

Chaundaraya belonged to the Brahma Kshatra race. His father Mahabalayya and grandfather Govindamayya were trusted servants of the royal family and had served with great distinction under Marasimha.¹ Like his illustrious parent, Chaundaraya too had distinguished himself in Marasimha's campaigns and had displayed remarkable valour and personal gallantry particularly in the war against Nolamba Pallava. He frustrated the designs of the usurpers after the death of Marasimha and suppressing all elements of disaffection and discord placed Rajamalla on the throne. A brave and warlike minister, immediately after this episode, waged unending wars against hos-

¹ Chaundaraya Purana, verses 20, 23; E. C. II. S. 13, 109, 137.

tile neighbours and refractory chiefs and feudatories. He stormed the impregnable fortress of Ucchangi which was strongly fortified by nature by long chains of hills and thus making permanent subjugation difficult. At the behest of Rashtrakuta Indra and Rajamalla he fitted out another expedition and routed and put to flight the hostile army of Vajvaladeva, brother of Patalamalla, in the battle of *Khedaga*. He killed *Prabhuvanavira* in the battle of Bayelur and enabled Govindaraja to enter the fortress which he took after a protracted siege. He punished Raja, Basa, Sivara, Kunanka and other chiefs who showed signs of insubordination and attempted, at alienation from Ganga rule. For this great distinction in the field of battle and service to the king he earned the titles of *Vira Martanda*, *Ranarangasimha*, *Samara Dhurandhara*, *Vairikula Kaladanda*, *Bhuja Vikrama* and *Bhatamara*.

Though a great warrior and statesman he loved scholarship and spent his leisure in the society of learned men. He was well versed in logic, grammar, mathematics, medicine and literature and had a rare gift for epistolary composition.¹ He was a literary character being the author of a Kannada work called

¹ Chaundaraya Purana, Verse 1-3, 45, 47.

Chaundaraya Purana, an account mostly in prose of the twenty-four Tirtankaras which he wrote in 978 A.D. His puranam has been considered to be a great work of "the southern school" with a lot of admixture of Prakrit and Tamil words. Chaundaraya was a great scholar profoundly learned in Kannada, Sanskrit and prakrit. He was the contemporary of Pampa the author of Adipurana.

From Chaundaraya Purana we learn that he was a devout Jain and that his guru was Agitasena the same great saint before whom Marasimha performed Sallekhana at Bankapur. Chaundaraya's son Jinadevana was likewise a lay disciple of this saint and built a temple at Sravanabelgola.¹ Even when Chaundaraya had reached the apogee of power he never neglected the interests of the poor. He performed many works of merit in the land he governed.² He was pious, learned, and magnanimous, and could rise above the narrow orthodoxy of the age, and his entire religious outlook instead of being that of a typical mediaeval canonist, was wide and comprehensive. He was one of the chief devotees of Jaina faith and has been fitly compared with Ganga the great minister of

¹ E. C. II. SB. 121.

² E. C. III. Th. Ins. 69.

Vishnu Vardhana, in wisdom, statesmanship and military genius. He earned the title of Raya from Rajamalla for founding the Gomata Image in Sravanabelgola. While Rakkasa was governor in Coorg, sedulous efforts seem to have been made to revive the influence of the Jaina religion of which the expiring Rashtrakuta and Ganga dynasties were the mainstay. The sacred erections of Chaundaraya Basti on the smaller hill¹ in Sravanabelgola and the colossal image of Gomatesvara on the larger hill² a remarkable monument in daring conception and gigantic dimensions, and executed in 983 A.D., are testimony in stone to Chaundaraya's piety and religious zeal.³ Simplicity of living, courage and determination in times of difficulty, generosity, magnanimity of temper, love of justice, and benevolence, a character that defied all temptations, with a lofty conception of moral life—these are the traits by which he has been characterised by unanimous testimony of scholars and poets.

	Rakkasa Ganga, 985.1024 A.D.	and as a general in the army of his brother Rajamalla and governor of a province on the bank of the
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¹ E. C. II. Sb. 122.

² S. B. II. 145, 176, 179, 234, 254.

³ E. C. III. In. 69.

Peddore, at the death of his brother succeeded him on the throne. The first few years of his reign were peaceful when he devoted his time to performing works of merit and encouraging the Jaina religion which for want of royal support and hostility of other creeds was being practically starved out. He constructed a Jaina temple in his capital, and an embankment, to the deep tank of Belarekatte (Belur) and made magnificent grants to brahmins and temples of other denominations. The Nolamba Pallava king was his feudatory. As he had no children, he seems to have adopted his younger brother's daughter and son.¹ The latter was named Raja Vidyadhara who probably died early, as the king is represented as taking special interest in the daughter and preparing for her succession. Rakkasa Ganga was the patron of the author of *Chandombudhi*, Nagavarma, who in the introduction to his work has verses relating to the king beginning with *Annam Rakkasagangam*. He ruled for a considerably long time from 985 to 1024 A.D., first as an independent sovereign and later on as a feudatory of the Cholas acknowledging their suzerainty. So long as Chaundaraya was the minister, foreign aggression was successfully

¹ E. C. VIII. Nr. 635.

prevented and the integrity of Ganga' dominion was preserved. With his death, departed the cohesion and power of the Ganga kingdom.

The Ganga sovereign had to contend after 990 A.D. with formidable powers as the Cholas and Chalukyas who had launched upon a career of territorial aggrandisement and aimed at the conquest of Nolambavadi and Gangavadi which constituted their most vulnerable frontier. There followed a gradual and steady encroachment upon the territory of Gangavadi by the Chola sovereign with the overthrow of Pallava regency in the south. Parantaka had uprooted the Banas and had conferred the Bana sovereignty on the Ganga prince Prithivipati.¹ The Chola sovereign Rajaditya had met his death at the hands of the Ganga prince Butuga.² Fifty years later the tide turned, in favour of Rajaraja. The Cholas had by this time carried their arms up to Kalinga on the east coast and had made Vengi, the Eastern Chalukyan territory an appanage of the Chola Empire, Rajaraja's daughter being married to the Eastern Chalukya king Vimaladitya. The wave of conquest was then directed to the west against the Western Chalukyas in the course of

¹ Sil. II. 387.

² E. C. III. Md. 41; A. S. i. iv. 207.

which, the Ganga territory in Mysore was invaded, the Gangas and the Rashtrakutas as allies of the Eastern Chalukyas, giving enough provocation for such an aggression. The work of conquest was followed invariably by consolidation of Chola power. Unlike the Pallavas and the Rashtrakutas who established a normal overlordship, the Cholas contemplated the entire subjugation of Mysore. Rajaraja conquered the south-eastern territory in 992 A.D. and followed it up by the establishment of his camp near Hosakote in 997.¹ But by 1004, his son Rajendra Chola who was in command of the Chola army, succeeded in capturing Tal-kad and extinguishing Ganga sovereignty. The conquest of the south and east of Mysore in an arc extending from Arkalgud in the west, through Srirangapatam, north, by Nelamangala to Nidugal was speedily effected and outposts of these conquests were established at Henjeru and Nidugal. The Changalvas whose kingdom was in the Hunsur taluk and Coorg were at the same time brought under Chola subjugation, and the Chola general Panchala Maharaya who had overcome the Changalvas in the battle of *Panasoge*, was rewarded by Rajaraja with Arkalgud and *Yelusavira* country together with

¹ E. C. IX. HL. 111.

the title of Kshatriya Sikhamani Kongalva. Extension of conquest¹ westwards, and consolidation of territory, was not possible, as Hoysalas who were now a rising power under Naganna and Nripakama, offered a stubborn resistance near *Kaleyur* and *Malingi*. The territory actually acquired by the Cholas instead of being restored to the ancient dynasty in return for an acknowledgment of their overlordship as had been done earlier, was parcelled into provinces and sub-divisions of provinces and an attempt was made to reorganise the state on the model of the Chola empire.

In spite of this systematic attempt at annihilation of Ganga power, the Gangas did not disappear from history. A Ganga princess was married to the Western Chalukya king Someswara I (1042—1062 A.D.) and she became the mother of the kings Someswara II (1068—1076 A.D.) and his celebrated brother Vikramanka (1076—1126 A.D.). The Gangas were in authority in the Kolar district during Chola occupation and later were trusted officers of the Hoysalas. Practically in the beginning of the eleventh century the Western Gangas lost all semblance of independence and, sank into the position of mere local representatives of the

¹ Rice Mysore and Coorg. 85, 86.

Chola and Western Chalukya kings. Ganga Raja attacked in 1117 A.D. Idiyanna or Adiyanna and other feudatories of the Cholas, encamped at Talkad, who refused to acquiesce in the authority of his lord, defeated them and placed it in the hands of his master Vishnuvardhana.¹ Other Ganga chiefs, similarly who were driven out from their kingdom by the Chola overlords and had taken refuge with the Chalukyas and the Hoysalas, attained to positions of great honour under them. It is probable at the termination of the Ganga sovereignty in Orissa, one of the Ganga Rajas assumed independence and established a smaller principality at Sivanasamudram later. He gradually extended his power and claimed Penukonda as a part of his own territory. Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara provoked at this aggression, led a campaign to Sivanasamudram in 1511, and subdued Gangaraja.² The kingdom thus conquered and overpowered, lingered for some time, when a domestic quarrel, created by the arrogance of a Ganga princess, culminated in a war, and the submergence of Ganga principality in the kingdom of Sriranga Raja of Talkad.

¹ E. C. III. ML. 31.

² E. I. VIII. 18.

CHAPTER VII

GANGA ADMINISTRATION

THERE was a distinct and in some ways a very enlightened conception of kingly duties among the Gangas. The secret of successful government lay according to them, in the perfect confidence which the people had in their king and ministers, in the mutual trust in the good faith of one another, in the identity of government with popular interest and the united effort of the king and the people to bring about the greatest good of the greatest number. The sovereign's duty was to promote the highest well-being of the people and the *raison d'être* of all political institutions was the satisfaction of material wants and the moral elevation of the entire community. The Kadam-bas are represented as studying the requital of good and evil¹ (*Prati-kṛta-svādhyaya-charcha-paras*). Kiriya Madhava was not at all eager to fill the throne as he was said to have assumed the honours of the kingdom only for the sake of the good government of his subjects.² Avi-

¹ Epigraphica Carnatica. v. Rice's introduction, iii.

² E. C. VIII Nr. 35; Sh. 4.

nita, Durvinita and Sripurusha and other great successors of Madhava evinced a similar solicitude for the welfare of their subjects.¹ "Their practice was that of the Manu's, the policy they adopted was the policy of the ancient kings, the good of the others was the wealth they accumulated; the satisfaction of their dependents they reckoned as their own satisfaction."² The Ganga sovereigns like others displayed great anxiety in being remembered by posterity as those who strictly adhered to and carried out the precepts laid down by Manu, Dharmasastras, and Niti Sastras. The king's responsibility for the maintenance of social and moral order was the outcome of the sacerdotal conception of the origin of the state, the early rise of the priesthood in the history of the country and the very early division of the people by Varnas. "The king shall never allow the people to swerve from the appointed duties (Dharma), for, whoever upholds his own duty, adheres to the usages of the Aryas, and follows the duties of the castes and orders (*Varnashrama Dharma*) will attain happiness in this world as in the next." "The rules enjoined in the Vedas for the orders of castes and Ashramas are Dharma; and it is in-

¹ M.A.R. 1916, P. 34-35; M.A.R. 1910. P. 32.

² E. C. VII. 92.

cumbent on every body to refute in public Assembly any one who casts aspersion on this statement." These and similar references bearing out the maintenance of Dharma as a sacred and inviolable duty of the king, persist with extraordinary frequency in Ganga¹ and Kadamba inscriptions.² Madhava Konganivarma acquired and ruled a country of gentlemanly population; (*Svabhujajava-jaya-janita-janapadasya*) and he was known as *Konganivarma Dharma Mahadhiraja*.³ Vishnugopa was devoted to the worship of gurus, cows and brahmins.⁴ In the Uttanur plates, Durvinita is described as resembling *Vaivasvata Manu* in the protection afforded to the castes and religious orders.⁵ Nitimarga is praised as the foremost of the kings ruling according to Nitisara.⁶ The duty of protecting the subjects extended not merely to the promulgation and enforcement of ordinary laws, but also to save the state from

¹ E. C. Sh 126.

² E. P. Indica VIII 80, 81, 322; IV P. 2, 88, 346, VI. P. 349, 217, 218. Indian Antiquary IX. P. 48. VIII 97, P. P. 303; E. C. IX 39. IX, 73. X. 78. IV, 62. 60, 85, XI 13. XII 115. V. 23. 115.

³ Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society XIX P. P. 200.

⁴ E. C. X. MI. 72; M.A.R. 1924, 67, 69.

⁵ M.A.R. 1916. P. 35.

⁶ E. C. I. IX. C. P. 48.

unseen and supernatural dangers, and both were necessary to prevent the oppression of the weak by the strong. The King received his share of the revenues of the state, as well as, a corresponding portion of the increase in spiritual merit among the people, in return for the protection that he gave to the subjects.¹ "To make a gift oneself is easy; to protect another's is difficult, whether giving or protecting, protecting another's gift is more *meritorious* than giving."² Though the idea of protection extended to the inner and public life of the subjects, the government was not paternal, for there was no restriction on individual liberty³ and the state definitely recognised the institution of private property and individual propriety right over all forms of wealth including land.⁴

The Ganga state was not theocratic because the priestly class had no organisation fitting them to act together for common purposes under acknowledged leaders, and also because the kings never allowed themselves to be swayed by any sect or fettered by any priestly organisation.

¹ Benoy Kumar Sarkar. *Sukranitisara*. P. 71.

² E. C. VI Mg. 36. *गङ्गा-राज-विशेष*.

³ V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*. 1904. P. 258, 260.

⁴ K. V. Rangaswamy Iyengar. *Some aspects of Indian polity*. P. 71-72.

“The Hindu theory of kingship was never permitted to degenerate into a divine imposture and profane autocracy. Jugglery in the divine name of the creator was not possible for the hindu king, as the race never allowed the craft of the priest to be united with the office of the ruler.”¹ Still the advice of the priesthood was ever deemed important, and the history of the lives of Simhanandi, who assisted Didiga and Madhava in the foundation of the Ganga kingdom and rule it according to his instructions,² of Vijayakirthi and Pujiyapada, contemporaries of Avinita and Durvinita,³ of Torana Charya and his disciple Puspanandi gurus of Sivamara⁴ and of Agitasena the royal preceptor of Marasimha and Chaundaraya, bears eloquent testimony to the influence they brought to bear on the administration of the state. The Acharyas greatly determined the character and career of their royal disciples, and inscriptions of the period are too fulsome in their adulations of their royal donors. Durvinita is spoken of as an abode of matchless strength, a Yudhisthira in virtuous conduct, an expert in the theory and

¹ Jayaswal. *Ancient Hindu Polity*. P. 58, 59.

² E. C. VII. Sk. 4. Sii. II. 387.

³ E. C. X Mr. 72. I.A. XII. 211.

⁴ E. C. IX Nl. 60, 61.

practice of politics.¹ The Kudlur plates of Marasimha praise "his delight in doing good to others, his aversion to woman and wealth and in the matter of giving ear to evil report regarding the good, his diligence in making gifts to sages and brahmins and his solicitude for those who sought his 'protection.'"² Learning, forbearance, truth, self-restraint, purity, non-injury to life, obedience to spiritual guides, pity for the afflicted, profundity, highmindedness, spurning the riches of others, reverence towards God and brahmins, were some of the attributes which the inscriptions mention in praise of Ganga sovereigns.³

The king held the same position in the macro-cosm of the state as the headman of the village community did in his smaller sphere. The royal authority was by no means despotic, for the constitution itself was designed not in the interest of the king or one class, but to secure for all classes as full a measure of liberty and of spiritual and material possessions as their respective capacities and considerations for the common weal permitted.

¹ E. I. XIV. P. 333.

² M.A.R. 1921.

³ E. C. X BP. 47; E. C. X Mb 84; Kl. 79; E. C. III Tn I. 53.

E. C. III. Ml. 87; Nj. 23, 68, 97, 126; Mol. 41, 37, 40.

E. C. III. Mys. 35, 41.

Kingship was established for the maintenance of the whole system of traditional laws, religious and civil, which governed society. The subjects while they acquiesced in the divine nature of kingly authority, at the same time sought to impose a check on the autocracy of kings by holding that laws were also divine and incapable of being changed. The kings had thus no legislative power, and their main duty was to administer justice and to maintain peace and tranquility by suppression of evil doers. Besides, the existence of local rajas or Samantas who were left more or less in the full enjoyment of their authority, was a great check on royal pretensions. The opposition of a confederacy of Samantas to an oppressive ruler was formidable. The despotism of the king was also to a great extent regulated by the wholesome check imposed on him by his own ministers and counsellors whose advice he always sought.¹

Though kingship was usually hereditary, the right of succession to the throne was not vested in the family of the reigning monarch absolutely; it was contingent on the approval of the state council, whose power was nominal, the king having the right to choose and dismiss his

¹ Mysore Gazetteer Vol. II P. 310; E. C. XII Mi. 110. E. C. IX.
Bn. 141. 4.

own ministers. Still at the king's death the Council exercised their traditional prerogative in the interest of the state to overrule family rights to the throne. Instances of Harsha, Rajaraja and Vikramaditya invited by ministers to accept the throne, of Nandivarman Pallava Malla elected by both ministers and leaders of the people,¹ of supercession of Rashtrakuta Kambha by his younger brother Govinda, contemporaries of Sivamara Saighta,² of Durvinita's claim to the throne being set aside by his father Avinita in favour of another son by a different mother³ amply exemplify the prevailing practice of the day. Normally the reigning monarch chose the fittest amongst his nearest relatives or sons, as heirs to the throne, and the eldest son had no prescriptive right by birth alone. The choice of an heir presumptive to the crown lay between the king's uncle, if younger than himself; a younger brother⁴ or son of his elder brother; his own son or an adopted child.⁵ The Yuvaraja, as

1 S. V. Venkateswara. *India's culture through the ages* Vol. II. P. 103.

2 E. I. IV. P. 287; E. C. Hg. 93.

3 E. C. IX Db 67, 68; M.A.R. 1916. P. 25; 1912 Pp. 31-32. 1924. P 69-72.

4 E. C. III Nj. 269; E. C. X Sp. 59; E. C. III Sr. 147.

5 E. C. VIII Nr; E. C. III Tn. 21.

well as other princes of the family while young were given a liberal education not only in the sciences of politics, of elephants, archery, medicine, poetry, grammar, drama and Itihasa, but also in the art of dancing (*Bharata Sastra*), singing and instrumental music.¹ They were appointed early as viceroys or governors of provinces so that they might gain acquaintance with the duties of administration, and later bring to bear the weight of their rich and valuable administrative experience on the efficient management of the state. Ereganga governed Torenad, Kongalnad during the sovereignty of Sivamara,² while Sripurusha himself a governor of Elenagarnad, Avanyanad and Ponkunda before he came to the throne,³ entrusted the work of administration of Kadambur, Asandinad, Kovalalanad, during his reign to his sons Sivamara, Vijayaditya and Duggamara Ereyappa.⁴ The princes were sometimes associated with the sovereign in the task of administration⁵ and the responsibility of government devolved on their shoulders when the king was engaged in hunting or foreign expeditions.

¹ E. I. X. 62; E. C. XII Nj. 269, etc.

² I. A. XIV 229.

³ E. C. IX Ht^r 86; E. C. X. B.P. 13.

⁴ E. C. X. Kl. 16; E. C. VI. Kd 145; E. C. X. Sp 65.

⁵ E. C. XII 269.

Transfer of viceroys and governors seems to have been resorted to frequently with a view to ensure the safety and integrity of royal power.¹ The practice of polygamy, in spite of marked predilection being shown by the king to one or other of his wives, often entailed an embarrassing situation in the choice of heirs and frequently embroiled the children of the king by different wives in civil wars for succession.²

The Queen not only enjoyed equality of status with the king and often appeared by his side at durbars as is manifest from the interesting friezes in front of the Belur temple, but also exercised considerable political power along with other children of the royal family, and assisted the king in the maintenance of equality and justice and humane administration.³ A few of the Ganga inscriptions make mention of the Queens of Sripurusha, Butuga and Permadi, ruling together with the king and Yuvaraja, in co-ordination with the king's authority,⁴ and sometimes independently, the provinces that were

¹ E. C. X Mb 80; E. C. IX Nl 60. E. C. III Nj 75.

E. C. IV Hg 103; E. C. IV Hs 92; E. C. III Nj 130.

² M.A.R. 1916, P. 35; M.A.R. 1912. P. 31-32.

E. C. IX. D.B. 67-68; E. C. IX Cl. 8.

³ E. I. XV. P. 333.

⁴ E. C. IV Hs. 92; III Nj. 130.

assigned to their care.¹ It is probable that the chief Queen had as her insignia, like the queens of the Hoysala dynasty, the white conch, the white umbrella, the golden rod and the Chamaras. The queen not only participated in the public functions of the king,² regulated temple administration and interested herself in the distribution of religious endowments,³ construction of temples and tanks, but also took part in the king's expeditions.⁴

The period was one of unprecedented storm and stress, and order could be restored only by the exaltation of the kingly office and the maintenance of a splendid court where the king presented himself on public occasions decked in all the magnificent trappings of royalty. His court consisting of Samantas, court officials, the queen, the chowrie bearers, royal gurus, and other dignitaries presented an imposing spectacle.⁵ The king who drew around himself by means of his lavish generosity a galaxy of eminent poets and scholars, listened to their creations, or discussions⁶

¹ E. C. X. Mb. 80.

² VIII. Sb. 346.

³ M.A.R. 1926.

⁴ M.A.R. 1926.

E. C. II 60-61. Hl. 28, 37, 38, 40.

⁵ Narasimbachar. The Kesava temple at Belur 4. 5. XIII and XV.

⁶ I.A. VIII 212; M.A.R. 1910 P. 27 M.A.R. 1924 79-81.

in the durbars and sometimes took part in philosophical disputations not only for the sake of the intellectual recreation that they afforded, but also for understanding the deeper truths of religion that they revealed. These debates besides, gave the king an admirable opportunity of noting the qualifications and worth of the men gathered round his throne. Gifts of land to brahmins and Acharyas and remission of taxes were made on such august¹ occasions.

The king was the apex of the whole administrative system, but owing to the
 The Ministers. difficult and complicated duties attached to the kingly office, he was often compelled to seek the assistance of a council composed of ministers, military commanders, men of the priestly class and poets. There was no system of election and all the members of the council were appointed by the king. The ministers constituted a powerful body and administered the state during the minority of its sovereign. As the position of the ministers was the difficult one of reconciling the will of the king to the wishes of the people, often popular opinion exonerated the king in times of distress and held the ministers responsible for having misguided him. The *Panchapradhana* became

¹ E. C. IX DB 67; E. C. IX Bn 141. M.A.R. 1912. 31-32.

more powerful with the establishment of Hoy-sala power and extension of dominion.

The number of ministers required for the council was regulated by the needs of the state, there being no hard and fast rule about it. The officers of state were differentiated from those of the palace. Ministers like *Dandanayaka*, commander, *Sarvadhikari*¹ (the prime minister), the *Mannevergadde* (the royal steward), *Hiriya Bhandari*, Yuvaraja and *Sandhivigrahi*² minister of peace and war, spoken of also as *Mallavijaya Sutradhari*, *Maha Pradhana* (the chief minister and spokesman of the Council)³ assisted the sovereign not only in the task of government, displaying the intelligence of *Brhaspati* and *Mandhata* in their skill and politics⁴ and administration of justice, but also accompanied the king on his tours and expeditions.⁵ The Council in the time of the Hoy-

1 E. C. V. Hn. 53. E. C. II. SB. 240.

2 E. C. VI Mg. 21; E. C. V. Ak 194; E. C. X Kl. 63.

Arasam Rakkasa ganga i

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Mandalikara mantri Sandhivigrahi Rayam.

B. Narasimhachar, Nagavarma's Kavyalokanam. Intro. P. 2.

3 E. C. XI. Dg. 25. *Hoysala*

4 M.A.R. 1908-9. P. 59.

5 E. C. VII Sk. 136. *Ch. 9*

E. C. VIII Sa. 45.

salas was composed of *Srikarannadhikari*, the *Hiriyā Bhandari*, the *Senadhipati*, the *Mahapasayita*, and the *Sandhivigrahi*. The offices of *Sandhivigrahi* and of *Sarvadhikari* seem to have devolved in times of war, on the shoulders of the *Hiriyā Danda Nayaka*, who obeyed implicitly the command of the sovereign on momentous issues of declaration and suspension of hostilities. The Council of ministers was recruited entirely by merit, and membership was sometimes hereditary, as can be gauged from the life of Chaundaraya, who like his father and grand-father ministers of Butuga and Marasimha, entered with his brother Nagavarma, the service of Marasimha and Rakkasa and served them with signal loyalty and devotion.¹ From the designation of ministers mentioned in inscriptions as *Mahaprachanda Dandanayaka*,² *Mahapradana*³ and *Dandanayaka Sarvadhikari*,⁴ *Mannevergadde Dandanayaka*⁵ and so on, it is manifest that the functions of ministers were not always clearly differentiated and that recruitment was from men who were skilled both in the art of warfare and statesmanship,

¹ E. C. II S. B. 109-137. Chaundarayapurānam. Verses 20-26.

² E. C. V. Hn. 53.

³ E. C. II S.B. 118.

⁴ E. C. II S.B. 240.

⁵ E. C. VII. Sk. 111. *Ca. ७७५*.

and that the titles *Sarvadhikari* or *Dandanayaka* bestowed on officers of merit, did not denote any political authority.

The chief officers of the palace were *Mahapasayita*¹ (minister of Robes), *Mahalayaka*² probably *Maha Aryaka* (the palace Chamberlain) or *Antahpura-dhkshya*, *Antapasayita*, connected with the palace (secretary), and *Nidhikara* (treasurer) *Sasanadhikarikaksapatalika*, *Rajapalaka*, *Padiyara*, *Hadiyara* or *Hadihara* (the superintendents of the guard at the palace,) *Sajje Valla* (Durbar Bhakshi), *Hadapada* (betel carrier). The officer *Sarvadhikari* is referred to in some inscriptions as superintendent of ceremonies³ and in others as chief of the *Karnas*, *Srikarana Heggade*.⁴ Another officer associated with the king was *Dharmmakarana*⁵ or *Dharmakaranika*, mentioned as investigating religious as well as local boundary disputes and administering justice. He was known under Hoysala rule as *Lokopakarakarana*, an officer appointed for confirming public benefactions made by the king. With

¹ E. C. II S. B. 199, 237 ; Ak. 69.

² E. C. III Md. 14.

³ E. C. V. Cn. 151.

⁴ E. C. V. Cn. 179.

⁵ E. C. VI Kp. 14. 37.

the growth of Hoysala power, officers like *Tantradhikari Manevegadde* (royal steward) and *Bahattara Niyogadhipati*, superintendent of officers, seem to have been added to the palace establishment.

For the effective administration of the kingdom, the king needed reliable private secretaries and confidential clerks whose counsel he sought on every question of weight. Expediency alone might have demanded the creation of these posts. There are references to *Raya-Sutra-Dhari*¹ (royal draughtsman), to *Mahamatra*,² not as a moral censor but as a supervisor of Sasana expressions, to *Rajjuka*,³ probably an officer in charge of revenue settlement, and to *Rahasyadhika*⁴ (private Secretary) and *Lekhaka*.⁵ The *lekhaka* who made records in *Kadita* and probably whose duties overlapped with those of *Raya-Sutra-Dhari* and *Mahamatra*, was expected to possess ministerial qualifications, to acquaint himself with all kinds of customs, and languages, methods of revenue collection and expenditure, to be smart in composi-

¹ E. C. Ak. 123.

² E. C. IX. Nl. 1. immediately post of... 10/5

³ E. C. VII. 263. of 10/2 No.

⁴ E. C. VII. Sk. 29. kad. (400 AD).

⁵ E. C. V. Bl. 17.

Abhilashitartha Chintamani Bk. II 128, 132.

tion, good in legible writing and sharp in reading, so that he could attentively listen to the king's orders and after having well deliberated over the matter, might reduce the order to writing. Great importance was attached to the king's business being done in writing,¹ for the prevailing political conception was, that the king who did state business without a written document (*lekhyā*) was practising fraud on the state. The written orders of the king, beginning with invocations of deity² followed by genealogies of the ruling sovereigns, with eulogies of their deeds and conquests and ending with the king's signature, were to pass through the royal secretary to the chief secretary who with other heads of departments, home, justice and diplomacy, having passed it directed that it should be entered in the revenue register, by the revenue officers and accountants.³ Minute attention seems to have been paid to business routine and there was a considerable amount of circumlocution in the government offices.

The power of the council and the king's secretaries seems to have considerably weakened in a later period, when the kings narrowly

¹ E. C. XI Mk. 21. *Mauvy*.

² E. C. VII S.K. 263.

³ E. C. X. Kl. III—112; Mysore and Coorg from the Ins. P. 172.

engrossed in military aggrandisement, preferred to come under the sinister influence of military officers rather than under the men learned in the Dharmasastras.

That great importance was attached to diplomacy and statecraft is inferable from the fact that the study of Statecraft. Nitisara was considered obligatory on princes. Madhava prided himself on being an expert in the science of polity even including its secret doctrines.¹ The Bedirur plates of Durvinita refer to him as endowed with the three constituents of regal power, *Prabhu Sakti*, (imperial power which enabled him to augment his resources and win his rivals over) *Mantra Sakti*, (power of discretion or diplomacy) *Utsaha Sakti* (power of active will).² To most of the kings, warfare for the vindication of the right of conquest, and military aggrandisement seem to have been the source of constant occupation. Consequently alliances with other states were made for defence against the aggression of formidable powers on their territory and in certain cases to prevent the dangerous outgrowth of one particular state or to thwart the designs of the enemy by sheer

¹ M.A.R. 1925. 95-96 ; M.A.R. 1914. P. 27.

² M.A.R. 1925. P. 35.

combination and thus attain one's object. Sometimes alliances were made for the acquisition of territory. Some of the sovereigns were said to have acquired not only the Saptanga-Rajya but also the Chatur-upaya or four expedients against the enemy, sowing-dissensions, negotiation, bribery, and open attack.¹ It was an accepted political doctrine that no war should be waged without previous declaration of hostilities, that unfair methods of fighting should not be resorted to, that noncombatants should not be molested and that in the pacificatory settlement that followed the war, local rights and usages should be respected, as well as the vanquished local dynasty restored back to the people. The Ganga king Avinita claimed to have maintained the rights of the country which he conquered.² Not only was Sivamara restored to the throne with all his territory, by Govinda III Rashtrakuta,³ but also both Govinda and Nandivarman II bound the diadem on Sivamara's brow with their own hands as if in recognition of his rights to his ancestral kingdom.⁴

From the glimpses we obtain of the social and

¹ E. C. V. Bl. 128.

² E. C. IX. D. B. 68.

³ I. A. V. P. 150; I. A. IV. 62-70.

⁴ E. C. IV. Yd. 60; E. C. IX. 60.

Provincial
Adminis-
tration.

political life of Gangavadi we see that the state was organised elaborately with a full supply of departments and completely graded officials, with well defined duties reminding in details, of the Mauryan and Gupta administration. The kingdom was divided for purposes of efficient administration into a number of provinces which were sub-divided into *Nadus* and *Vishayas*, *Ventyas*, *Khampanas* comprising of groups of villages and towns, the village constituting the lowest administrative unit. (*Rashtra-pati*, *Vishayapati*, *Gramakuta Kayuktaka Niyuktakadhikara*).¹ The territorial divisions were more popularly known as Gangavadi 96,000, Banavasi 12,000, Punnad 10,000, Kerekunda 300, the Elenagarnad 70,² the Avanyanad 30, and Ponekunda 12, and some of the oldest inscriptions bear out that the reckoning had a more direct reference to the amount of revenue realised³ rather than to extent of cultivation or to the real or exaggerated and traditional number of cities, towns and villages, that consti-

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गंगा विजय

¹ E. C. XI Dg. I. 56; E. C. III Md. 113; E. I. XII 152.

² Ep. Indica. VI P. 161; E. C. IX Ht. 86; E. C. X Bp. 13.

³ Rice : Mysore Gazetteer Vol. I. P. 574; A country yielding 100 Niskas was called a Kshetra; 18,000 shima formed a Khampana; 2 Khampana a ventya; 33 Ventya and 12,000 Shima formed a 12,000 country.

tuted the district or the state, ample evidence being available to substantiate all the interpretations.¹

Each province was held by a viceroy who was either a prince of the royal family or a powerful noble of the state, or some representative of the old ruling dynasties. Ministers of the king were often appointed as governors.² The government of every province was a replica of the central government and the viceroy kept his own army, held his own court, made charitable grants and behaved like an autocrat within his own jurisdiction. The governor was generally styled the *Dandanayaka* or *Dannayaka* who combined both civil and military³ functions and in newly acquired territories acted as a *Senadhipati*, *Chamupati* or general. Those who exercised control over Samantas or feudatory chiefs obtained the title of *Maha Samantadhipati*,⁴ an office which the Hoysalas continued and designated it as the superintendent of feudatories⁵ (*Manneya Maha Samantara Adhithayahara*) and reinforced it with additional duties, that of acting as the warden of the

¹ I.A. V.P. 280; I.A. 244; I.A. IX P. 38; E.C. XII Si. 98.

² E. C. VII Sk. 192. *Ch. 98.*

³ E. C. VII Sk. 13. 117; VIII Sb. 292.

⁴ E. C. VII Sk. 131; VIII Sb. 388.

⁵ E. C. II Sb. 118. 237, 240, E. C. IX. Op. 38.

marches, particularly in the most strategic and vulnerable northern frontier.¹

The governors of provinces variously known as *Senadhipati Hiriya Heddavala*, *Maha Prachanda Dandanayaka*,² *Dannayaka*³ *Sarvadhikari*, were responsible for the collection of taxes and for the administration of justice. But the governor could neither make remissions of revenue nor increase the revenue by levying tolls and other imposts without the consent of the king. In relation to the king the position of governors was that of a feudal vassal, though they exercised supreme authority in their respective spheres of jurisdiction and even possessed the right of waging war with each other. During the period of Hoysala sovereignty the governors became primarily military officers enjoined with the duty of preservation of peace and order, and protection of the frontiers and the maintenance of a permanent body of troops under them (*Padaividu*).

The *Heggades* variously known as *Rajadhyaksha Heggade*, *Rajadhyakshada Karnam* in charge of districts, likewise combined civil and military functions, but in financial matters

¹ E. C. X. Bp. 9; E. C. V. Hn 69.

² E. C. II Sb. 240.

³ E. C. IX. Cp. 38. *etc.*

were subject to the control of *Srikarana Sarvadhikari*¹ who was one of the chief ministers of the council supervising revenue and financial departments of the kingdom. Changes in administrative organisation, minute territorial divisions for administrative purposes and clearer definition of the duties of officers, seem to have appeared with the establishment of Rashtrakuta overlordship. Owing to the complication and arduous nature of civil administration, several important towns were made treasury centres and were assigned to the care of *Bhandaris* (*Bhandara Vadadadhipar*) as *Srikaranadhikari*, *Manikya Bhandari* and *Kosadhyakshas* and these assisted the *Heggades* in efficient management of revenue work and in the collection of taxes in the tracts that were not given exemption.² Of the several other officers who were subordinate in authority to Heggade were *Sunkaveggade* and *Srikarana Heggade* and the latter was an important officer of the district being assigned the work of writing down in the *Sevadi* the taxes due from each individual to the government and such of the remissions that the king had ordered. Similarly accountants (*ganakas*) were placed under the

¹ M.A.R. 1912, P. 43. M.A.R. 1913, P. 37.

² E. C. VII Sb. 137. 246; VIII Sb. 38, 88; II. SB. 467, 142-147.

control of *Pattagaras*, *nayakas*, officers in charge of military stations, *manneya*, officer in charge of fortifications, under *Nadgaundas Nad Prabhus*¹ in charge of *Ventyas* and *Kampanas*² and lastly under *Prabhus*³ or *gaudas* holding *Paripatya* of the village. Often these accountants were promoted, on the testimony of honest and efficient service, to the position of a *Srikarana* and sometimes to that of a *Bhandari* of the local treasury.

The principal source of government revenue was the land tax, the normal rate according to immemorial tradition, being one sixth of the gross produce. For the assessment of this tax a very careful survey of cultivable land was made of which a register was kept so that every cultivator knew the exact amount for which he was liable.⁴ The king who would usually not venture to demand more from the cultivators directly in defiance of public opinion and of traditional laws, probably, in times of great emergency and with the consent of the popular assemblies raised the rate to one fourth of the produce, an enhancement made at very

¹ E. C. VIII Sk. 218.¹¹⁶

² E. I. V. 257; E. C. VIII Sa 71. XI Dg. 32.

³ E. C. III. Nj. 139; E. C. Ak. 17.

⁴ S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar, *Ancient India* P. 175. 176.

rare intervals. Though all cultivable lands were not measured according to one uniform measurement but according to different methods of measurement, the soil was divided into classes according to its fertility; and the method of calculation of assessment was not arbitrary, for a moderate assessment was made for the first two years making due allowances for vagaries of the seasons and nature of the soil, and assessment after, was definitely fixed in the third year.¹ Remissions however were granted when lands were actually uncultivated, and when they suffered from too little water or from inundations, in case, the crops raised were such as required irrigation.

The instrument used for purposes of measurement was generally a pole of which different sizes are mentioned in the inscriptions. There were the *Bherunda pole*,² the *Ganga pole*,³ the *Margundi pole*,⁴ the *kachchavi pole*,⁵ *Ottola pole*⁶ the *Danda* or the staff of the royal standard, the *Varisai*⁷ *kkol*, which was used

¹ E. C. III Sr. 148.

² E. C. VII Sk. 120.

³ E. C. VI Tk. 45. ^c

⁴ E. C. VII Sk. 118.^s

⁵ E. C. VIII Sb. 317.

⁶ E. C. VII Ci. 64.

⁷ E. C. X Kl. page. 44.

for the measurement of wet land particularly *Etta* land, and the pole of 18¹ spans each of 12 fingers breadth called *Mana Danda* as well as poles of thirty six steps and forty eight steps.² The units of measure for the land generally used were *Nivarthana*,³ *Matta*,⁴ and *Kamma*,⁵ the last being the smallest unit. Other measures used for *Nava Dhanya* were *Mishka*; 10 of which formed a *phala*; 64 *phala* a *Mana*; 20 *Mana* a *Kolaga*; 20 *Kolaga* a *Khandaga*.⁶ *Adda* also was used for husked rice, *Sollage* for paddy, and *Mana* for oil. Several inscriptions mention of *Suvarna*, *Nishka* and *Gadyana*, types of gold coins being used for gifts and daily transaction, as well as coins of smaller denominations. A half *Suvarna* was called *Pon* or *Hon*, doubtless a corruption of *Hana* or *Pana*.⁷ References are made to coins of the type of *Haga*, *Kodevana* and *Kasu*,⁸ and *hera drachmmas*, of whose ratio to the gold is not clear in the inscriptions. The conspicuous

¹ E. C. X Mb. 49.

² E. C. V Ak. 12-13.

³ E. C. V. VBl. 245.

⁴ E. C. VII Sk. 120.

⁵ E. I. XIII P. 25.

⁶ Rice : Mysore Gazetteer Vol. I.P. 577 ; E. C. X Mb. 49 ; E. C. VII Sh. 10.

⁷ E. C. V Mj. 53.

⁸ E. C. VIII Sb. 482.

absence of silver coins in currency organisation is to be accounted for by the inadequate supply of silver to meet the circulation of a vast country.¹ All the gold coins of various denominations were in the form of spherules (*gulige*) quite plain and smooth, save for a single very minute punch mark. The Ganga gold coins had an elephant on the obverse, and floral design on the reverse and weighed between 52.3 to 58.5 grains.

Besides the ordinary tax of one sixth of the produce of communal lands, one fifth of the produce of forest tracts and of lands on which dry crops were raised, and one third of the produce of lands cultivated below tank and one third of under-ground treasures (*Tri-bhoga-byantara*), which were all the king's due according to the oldest Aryan tradition, there was the revenue from irrigation assessments, tolls on merchandise and exise and fines imposed for various offences. The recognised principle with regard to the incidence of taxation according to Sukra's *Nitisara*, was, that the king should levy taxes upon the peasant as a garland maker gathers leaves and flowers from the trees in the forest and not like a charcoal burner.

¹ Elliot. Coins of Southern India 22-45; Rice, Mysore Gazetteer Vol. I. 802.

The excise appears to have been farmed out or managed by an agent appointed by the government, and it is referred to under the different heads of *Hejunka* or *Perjjunka*.¹ Custom duties on the chief articles of trade, *Kirikula*² or miscellaneous duties on articles in which the transactions were small, *Vaddaravula*³ and *Panneya*, taxes on water supply and on areca and betel leaves, *bilkode sunka*,⁴ tax paid on every load of betel leaves, by the towns' people, *Lailalike*, *Manneya*, *Aya*, *Daya* and *Dasa-bandha*, a ten percent tax on all miscellaneous articles of daily use, and *Viravana*⁵ and tax on salt were some of the most important dues that were collected. In the levy and collection of customs duties particularly in regions where the transport of grain and other commodities had to be carried on by means of pack bullocks, exemptions⁶ from payment of tolls were allowed to a few articles of necessity as arecea nut, husked rice, tamarind, oil and ghee.

The village assembly which was responsible to the supreme government for the collection and

¹ E. C. VIII Sk. 11-13; Rice : Mysore and Coorg from the Ins. P. 513.

² E. C. VII Sk. 96.

³ E. C. VII 104-170.

⁴ E. C. VII Sk. 11-13.

⁵ E. C. III. Tn. 98.

⁶ E. C. X. Mb page. 41; E. C. IX Nl. 3; IX, Ht. 10.

payment of dues, in addition to the special taxes levied by the central government, levied a number of other taxes such as *Hadike*, *Horane*, *Malabraya*, *Avicchu*, taxes on land occupied by houses, on looms, ploughs, on markets, and on sugar mills, and received miscellaneous forced labour, accountant's fee, tribute, subscription for making boundaries, double-payment to the army or for compensation of loss incurred, fodder for horses and elephants. These different obligations were not all in the nature of taxes, but more of free will offerings, of first fruits of orchards by gardeners and ryots, and of supplies of food and fodder and means of transport to royal armies or to officers while on tour.¹ Though the rates of levy varied in different regions, several inscriptions mention of 10 *Panas* for elephants, an *Alakku* for every load of pepper, a *Kavalige* for betel leaves, a *Uri* for grain, and *Kasu* for cloth etc., as being levied as excise by the village parliaments.² Performance of forced labour for the land-lord, payment of land-tax, grazing tax, marriage tax, ordinary incidents of feudalism, and a number of indirect taxes in the shape of customs duties on articles of daily consumption, all seem to sug-

¹ E. C. III. Tn. 27; E. C. X Mb. P. 41.

² E. C. IX Mb. Page 19.

gest that unfortunately the interests of the tillers of the soil were not always consulted in such fiscal arrangements.

The system of collection of land and excise revenue was simple. The *gauda* and *Karana*¹ of the villages were responsible for keeping a register of householders and their lands, which gave their occupations, caste, income, and property in the servants and live stock, and the amount of the tax payable whether in money or in kind if they were not exempt from taxation, or state service for which they were liable in lieu of taxes. The *Nayaka* and *Nadgavunda* of the districts had under them a staff of revenue officials who performed similar duties for the larger groups of villages and townships. A collector of customs who probably combined the duties of administrator and judge and of an examiner of state records,² *Dharmma Karanika*³ was posted for every district with an office staff to register merchants and their goods which passed through the district and to examine passports.⁴ The official staff of *Karani-kas* were not only writers of legal documents, and superintendents of accounts but were also

¹ E. C. III Tn. 17.

² Bhandarkar. Early History of the Deccan P. 116.

³ E. C. VI Kp. 14-37.

⁴ I. A. XII. P. 122.

officers in charge of village lands.¹ We have references in several inscriptions to accountants also under the control of Heggades, Pergadde or Nadu Prabhus, and to Senabova, and to Collectors and *teridara*,² officers of land tenures (*Manne Magatin*)³ overseer, superintendents and keepers of land registers, all who were responsible for a meticulous entry of excess and deficiency in the revenue register.⁴

The village or the grama formed the backbone of the country and its administration. The villages remained undisturbed during internecine wars and self-contained in their administration, having their hereditary headman and accountants. The policy of the Central government was one of developing local self-governing institutions so efficiently that they should call for little interference from central power. The main function of the central government consisted in adjusting local authorities in the just exercise of their rights, against powerful miscreants in high places who had defied their control. Each village had an Assembly which

The Village
Adminis-
tration.

¹ E. P. Ind. II. P. 129; I.A. I.P. 166.

² E. C. IX Dv. 43. *mag*

³ E. C. III. Nj. 176.

⁴ E. C. X. Kl. 112; E. C. VI Cm. 68.

E. C. III Tn. 129, 130-etc.

usually met in the Mantapams of the village temple. How the admission to the Assembly was regulated is not known, though in the south, in the ninth and tenth centuries, admission to the Mahajana of the village was confined to shareholders on the agraphara, if they knew the Vedas, or at least *Mantra Brahmana* and *Dharma Sastras*. But this condition did not preclude men of other castes and royal officers being present while the deliberations of the meetings were going on.

The assembly had both deliberative and executive functions. Custodians of all charitable endowments¹ themselves, they often provided endowments for temples and other religious institutions free of all taxes, by selling village lands and after making provision for royal dues. The assembly not only collected some part of the revenue of villages including labour contributed by artisans in lieu of taxes but also ordered that the temple authorities should take over judicial jurisdiction themselves and punish any offence committed against the land by villages. Some inscriptions run like this : " If any one makes a misrepresentation to the officers who come here in connection with the house and lands which we have granted to him

¹ E. C. IX An. 80; E. C. IX Cp. 128, 129, 130, 131; III Nj. 164, 85.

as a *Sarva Manya*''..... or we authorise the pujaris to receive suttu kadam and a share of the produce of the above land.¹ If the *Gramani* tried to destroy a charity and if the Assembly knowing this neglected to take steps (*Idamaridu Upekshisidaradade*) the assembly itself was responsible for the destruction of the charity. The Assembly through committees collected taxes such as *Bittu Vatta*, *Talarike*, *Bala Pana*² and granted exemption chiefly to temples. There was confiscation of lands in default of payment³ of taxes. The Committee of the Assembly attended to public wells, reservoirs and irrigation works. They also kept the accounts of transfers of land and revenue receipts. The Mahasabha borrowed money and paddy, agreeing to pay a fixed rate of interest at stated times, probably to meet the expenses connected with the repairs of tanks, ponds and channels and gardens. It gave permission to landholders to use the water from the tank of the villages, sometimes free and sometimes on payment of a fixed water-tax. It was also responsible for the division of agrapharas into equal parts, the regulation of the amount of taxes payable by each division, as well as the

¹ E. C. IX Cp. 94, 95, 97; 128, 133.

² E. C. VI Cm. 203; V. Cn. 181.

³ E. C. IX. Ht. III; IX An. 80, IX. Cp. 94, 95, 97.

relation between divisions, with regard to the introduction of improvements and use of roads, gardens and water. When the Assembly sold lands, it agreed to settle disputes about the boundaries of such lands and sometimes it set aside the former decisions on land as unequal and got the fields measured by agents before making an equitable distribution which had the force of law, and compelled recognition by the parties concerned. Such *Samaja Sasanas* were also endorsed by the king and those who violated or transgressed the agreement were excommunicated and punished. All these accounts were periodically subject to audit by the king's officers and inspectors, who detected misappropriation of charitable endowments. In disputed matters the king's authority was sometimes¹ invoked. Inscriptions speak of *Dharma Karanika* holding inquiry on land and religious disputes and affecting a settlement amicably to all parties concerned. But for all practical purposes the king's officers did not ordinarily interfere with the administration of local affairs,² though they occasionally called for accounts and adjusted matters relating to temple endowments particularly *Brahma Deya* and *Devadana lands*. The temple priests who were

¹ E. C. IX. Cp. 97, 133.

² E. C. IV. Hs. 18.

enjoined to maintain gifts of land endowed on temples, and their families, enjoyed great respect in the village community and were designated as *Tammadis* or *Sthanapatis*.¹

The method of allocation of gifts of land varied in character. Some were
 Land
 Tenures. known as *Umbali*² a regular rent free gift followed by the traditional eight fold rights of possession. The cultivators distinguished the land according to the quality of the soil, as *Makki* blackland, land for *Kummari* cultivation and so on.³ The epigraphical records make mention of three kinds of tenures under which the farmers held the land. The *Sarvamanya*⁴ a kind of gift wherein the government relinquished all rights, *Tribhoga* a joint tenure enjoyed by three distinct parties, e.g., a private person, god of the village, and Brahmins, and *Talavrittis*. The gifts of lands to gods, brahmins and temples and other charitable institutions were made sometimes for definite periods free of all taxes,⁵ and sometimes to endure as long as the sun and the moon, immune from all taxes. We hear of land grants

¹ E. C. IV. Gu. 89; Vi. Cm. 89; III Ml. 60.

² E. C. VI. Kd. III.

³ E. C. VIII Sb. 35. 31.

⁴ E. C. IX. Cp. 94, 97.

⁵ E. C. II S.B. 255.

to Brahmins made in villages or groups of villages under the designation of *Agrahara*. The entire landed property was divided into *Vrittis*, which varied in extent according to the extent and area of the villages. Gifts of land were made to individual Brahmins for great scholarship,¹ (*Vidyadana*) for profound knowledge of the Sastras and distinctions in the ritualistic observances. Some times gifts were made to temples, and temple priests on special ceremonial occasions.² Camping places (*Bidara*) on ceremonial occasions were constructed for the use of *Athithi Mahattigal* (itinery priests) who came³ to beg for alms. We have cases of lands acquired by purchase, by private persons and transferred to temple authorities to make provision for the rites and festivals of the Gods.⁴ The mention of grants of *Bittu Katta* or *Bittu Kattu* for certain tanks is made in many inscriptions and probably this was similar to *Dasabanda* which was land granted at one tenth of the usual rates, to a person in consideration of his constructing or repairing a tank. Probably it was a reduction on the usual rent for *Bittu* sowing or cultivation.

¹ E. C. V. Ag. 24; VI Tk. 55.

² E. C. III Yl. 38, 39, 40; VI, Kp 44; IV Hs. 18.

³ E. C. III Nj. 85.

⁴ E. C. VI. Mg. 9.

*Kerekodege*¹ and *Kattukodege* were also grants of land made rent free for the service rendered in construction or upkeep of a tank. Another type of land mentioned in inscriptions is *Etta*² land or land irrigated by water levers. References to *Bittu-Kattu*, *Desabanda* and *Kerekodege* grants bear testimony not only to the solicitude of kings for the promotion of the welfare of their subjects by erection of dams on rivers from which channels were led off, construction and repairing of tanks, wells and reservoirs, but also to the vital importance that was attached to the provision of a good supply of water for irrigational purposes.³

There are interesting references to other types of land gifts made rent free and bestowed on the soldiery for the meritorious services rendered in expeditions and wars. Grants of land made to the family of the fallen man were sometimes styled as *Bal-Galcchu*⁴ or *Kalnad*. The grants were made with the washing of the fallen man's sword, probably to purify it from the stain of slaughter. *Kalnad* though it means a stoney tract, but from the way it was used, signified a land granted for the support

¹ E. C. V. 245; III Nj. 51.

² E. C. III Nj. 199; X Kl. Page 74-60. 108. 74.

³ E. C. III Md. 113.

⁴ E. C. VII Sk. 176; X. Bp. 4. 9.

of the family of a man who had fallen in battle or been otherwise killed in public service.¹ Mention is made in several inscriptions of *Rakta Kodege*² or *Nettara Kodege* similar to *Balgalechu* and *Kalnad*, signifying grants to the family of the fallen heroes particularly while defending the village against aggressors or engaged in the recovery of the stolen cattle,³ from robber gangs or enemies of the village. An essential condition making the grant inviolable, was the immunity afforded to the gift from encroachments by the eighteen castes⁴ of the village, composed of the agricultural, artisan and trading classes, the *Balgai* headed⁵ by the Banagigas, and the *Yedagai* headed by the panchalas with the Madigas at the bottom.⁶

The village authorities were the headmen (*gaunda*) the *senabova*, *manigar*, and the *Gramalekhaka*. It was the duty of the headmen to collect revenue and with the help of the local men to secure the village from the inroads of robbers. To the extent he was the chief revenue officer, he exercised judicial authority as well as that of the police magistrate. He

¹ E. C. V. Ag. 5. 25. III Nj. 4, 9.

² E. C. V. Cn. 205.

³ E. C. V. Ak. 31.

⁴ E. C. VIII Sb. 6, 47, 221.

⁵ E. C. VII. Hl. 47.

⁶ E. C. IX Db. 67, 141.

was neither elected by his co-villagers nor appointed by the king. He was a hereditary officer with hereditary rights which he could transfer by sale. The office of the gauda sometimes was continued to the widow on the death of her husband and references to the skill and ability of her management of the village officers are noticed in a few inscriptions.¹ The headman was entitled to all that the king could expect from a village as fuel, grass, fodder, oil-cloth, vegetables, salt, etc. The Gauda probably was a member of the nadu Assembly and as he was also the settlement officer of the Nadu, he participated in the deliberation of the council and assisted the members in arriving at an amicable settlement of disputes pertaining to definition of boundaries.

A natural consequence of the consolidation of the Aryan tribal system into large states and kingdoms, was the general development of the village settlements into larger towns and cities planned on the same principles in which the different villages united, were grouped round the royal palace. The site for the construction of the town was always chosen in a place that was well wooded, fertile with supplies of water and

Town
Adminis-
tration.

¹ E. C. X. Mb. 49.

food and not too far from the hills. The towns were well fortified with several lines of forts intercepted by deep and impassable moats.¹ The town was required to construct good roads, wells and reservoirs, public parks, and orchards, taverns, temples and "garden tanks filled with lotus" and groves and chatrams for travellers to rest in.² *Puras* varying in number from two to seven according to the importance of the town and strength of population, *Mattas* and *Agraharas* dedicated to learning and study of the sastras, and *Ghatikas* 'supports of piety and mines of enjoyment'³ were a special feature of town life, attracting students from all parts of the country, to take advantage of the facilities provided for pursuit of knowledge.

The town composed of all the eighteen castes as gavareyas, setties, Ankakaras, Gavundas, etc. was governed by the town corporation which was directed to maintain the work of merit and enjoin the irreligious, to leave it alone.⁴ The Assembly was composed of the Mayor, the Senabova, Manigara and representatives of the *Mumuri* Danda, and of trading

¹ Pampa Adipurana VI. Asvasa Padya 102. 103; Pampa Adipurana 6th asvasam 95.

² E. C. V. Ak. 82.

³ E. C. V. 178. III Ml. 109.

⁴ E. C. VII. Sk. 94.

guilds.¹ The administration of the towns was usually in the hands of merchant guilds, *Nigama Sabhas* sometimes expanding themselves into an assembly of the citizens of which the *Pattana Swami* was the head.² We learn from epigraphical records that all important towns as *Talkad*, *Mankunda* and *Manyapura*, the residential capitals of the Gangas had all a corporation and a *Pattana Swami* who looked after public health, maintained houses of charity and repaired roads. The town organisation was predominantly mercantile, comprising of guilds "*Srenis*" of oil-mongers, potters, bankers, day labourers, bamboo workers, and³ *pan-chalas* or five guilds of artisans. The guilds received deposits and paid interest on them. Though merchants of brahmin⁴ descent importing horses and elephants, and pearls in ships by the sea, and selling them to kings, are spoken of in a few inscriptions, the mercantile and traditional classes were mostly "*Vira Banajigas*" whose formal meetings or convocations were generally accompanied with setting up, the diamond "*Vaisanige* or *Bayasanige*"⁵ as

¹ E. C. VII Sk. 94.

² E. C. IV Gu. 34.

³ E. C. V. Ak. 22.

⁴ E. C. V. Ak. 77; VII. Sk. 119.

⁵ E. C. V. Bl. 75; E. C. IX. Dg. 59.

the symbol of their guild. The towns were also the meeting place of merchant caravans of which the Kerala and Malayala merchants are mentioned as wearing *Vibhutipatta*, and as making gifts, as experts in testing gems and gaining credit as suppliers of the wants of kings and as truthful negotiators of alliances between hostile kings.

The assembly of the town imposed taxes on houses, oil mills, potters, washermen, masons, basket makers, shop keepers, and customs on import and exports, giving exemption to brahmins from¹ payment of chief taxes, and administered law and order through the *Nagarika* or the *Totigara*,² the magistrate and head of the city police. He had to dispose of all important disputes relating to the roads and houses, regulate prices, take the census and keep a record of all persons coming into and leaving the city, and at the same time remit regular accounts to the king. He also enforced regulations regarding houses and streets and sanitation, assisted by *Gopas* and *Sthanikas*.³ The brahmins enjoyed exemption from payment of taxes and customs dues of the nad, on condition of carrying out annual repairs or managing

¹ E. C. IV. Hs. 187.

² E. C. V. Ak. 31.

³ E. C. III. Tm. 176.

public affairs, which they successfully performed by appointing one of their number in rotation once a month.¹ (*Masa Veggade tana*).

The Assembly of the towns enjoyed great autonomy and freedom, and their rights and privileges regarding making grants, licences and general administration of the town were zealously protected and safeguarded by the king who in one of the inscriptions, is interestingly referred to as having bought the *Umbali* land belonging to a Setti, the Pattanaswami of the town, by washing his feet (*Kalagarch-chu*) and with the knowledge of the priests and townsmen, by making a suitable agreement with him.²

The military organisation of the kingdom, probably, was one of feudal character. Besides the king's personal troops, the provincial governors supplied their quota in time of war, and were also required to give all kinds of assistance. The kings could collect as many soldiers as they wanted without difficulty. The permanent standing army, composed of infantry, cavalry, and elephants was not only a war machine thoroughly well equipped and drilled to a high state of efficiency, but was animated

Military
Adminis-
tration.

¹ E. C. VI. Kp. 44; Tp. 2.

² E. C. VII. Sk. 99.

by the highest spirit of devotion and loyalty to their sovereign and recognised by the people as their own defence against misrule and foreign aggression. Though references are made to the conventional Chaturanga, there is no specific mention of the chariot as an integral part of military organisation. Chariots might have been used very rarely¹ as can be inferred from the study of the friezes of the Halebidu and other temples containing sculptures of war scenes, of the epics depicted in the manner in which the battles were fought in the days of the Kadambas, Gangas and Hoysalas. A form of open trek cart with disc wheels and axles dovetailed to the top of the cart with an wooden band and drawn by horses, seems to have been used in the field of battle. Mention is made of the cartmen (*bandiyakara*) in Hoysala inscriptions and it is possible that he not only made supplies of the sinews of war, but often participated in battles. The high military officials usually bore the title *Dandanayaka*² or *Danayaka* or *Mahaprachanda Danayaka*, *Maha Samantadhipati* and *Senadhipati Hiriya Hedavala*.³ Next in order in the military hier-

¹ E. C. VIII. Sa. 58.

² E. C. III Tn. 27; E. C. Hn. II SB. 118. 240.

³ E. C. X. Bp. 9. V. Hn. 69.

archy, were the *Dandadhipas*¹ the generals eulogised in several inscriptions for their firmness, goodness, appropriate generosity, courage, behaviour and profundity. The masters of the horse were known as *Pallikaras*, *Adalajas*² and *Asvadhyakshas* or *Turuga Sahani*. The other officers were the superintendents of mines (*Okara Mandalika*).³ *Vaidya*, and *Maha Vaddavyavahari*,⁴ who was probably an army contractor responsible for commissariat supplies.⁵ There were the wardens of the marches in all the frontiers of the kingdom and those who were stationed in the eastern frontier were known as (*Muda Datara*).⁶

It may have been a custom among the Ganga rulers, as it was also in the time of the Hoy-salas, to enlist in the army local robber tribes like the *Bedas* who were expert archers. The army contained men of all castes including goldsmiths and carpenters. Sometimes there were caste contingents separately organised and placed under *Danayaks* who were brahmins. The infantry, composed of regular and irregu-

¹ E. C. II SB. 142.

² E. C. IV. Hs, 65.

³ E. C. V. Cn. 269.

⁴ E. C. III. ML 56; VII Sk. 118.

⁵ Ranna. *Gadayuddha* III *Asvasa*, *Padya* 26.

⁶ E. C. VII. Sk. 56, 60.

lar troops, king's messengers and servants, was counted to be of not much value. The Samantas often engaged a mercenary army while campaigning in a distant country. The foot soldiers armed themselves with flat coats of leather and flat helmets and steel armours and shields to protect themselves against javelin thrusts and arrow shots, while they used bucklers, broad swords, lances and arrows and javelins, for purposes of assault. They carried fire arms of some sort.¹ They were also initiated into the difficult methods of climbing hill forts.² The cavalymen wore breast plates and flat helmets and used lances, daggers, swords and bucklers in the battlefield. The horses which were mostly imported³ by sea for war operations, were protected by coats of mail.

The elephant formed a very important part of the army and it was given special training in killing warriors, (*vadhakrama*) being made to trample under foot stuffed objects of human shape. *Mavantas* (elephant drivers) and *Ekkatigar* (soldiers employed to guard the elephants during the battle) were given special training in elephant management. The com-

1 E. C. XI Dg. 25; Rice: Mysore and Coorg from the Ins. 171.

2 Pampa Adipurana VI. Asvasa 61, 63.

3 E. C. VII Sk. 197.

mander of the elephants was known as *Gaja Sahani*.¹ As the use of elephants developed the courage, strength and skill of fighters—special training seems to have been given to soldiers and princes in fighting the elephant, and many Ganga princes are mentioned in inscriptions as young lions breaking the pride of elephants.² Butuga, the younger brother of Rajamalla II defeated the Kongas who resisted his tying up elephants and he captured many herds according to the old custom.³ The art of catching elephants, of rearing and training them to fight had reached perfection under the Gangas, and from Sivamara's *Gaja Sataka* which he wrote in kannada after a profound research into the methods of elephant's management, it is clear that there were regular treatises on all these subjects. Probably as elephants were captured in the country, every Samanta was required to maintain a number of them, and sometimes villages were assigned to chieftains in perpetuity for the purpose. Though the elephants constituted the first line of defence in the field of battle, standing like an impregnable wall, still, in the case of a stampede they often determined

¹ SK. 34.

² M.A.R. 1921. P. 26.

³ M.A.R. 1919. P. 63. 68.

Rice: Mysore and Coorg from the Ins. 44.

the result of the battle, turning a situation in the imminence of a victory to one of defeat and disaster. The most terrible fighting was that with the elephant force, and the fight always tested the valour and physical strength of the fighters. Inscriptions extol the king's valour in attacking black masses of elephants in the words "Soaked with blood issuing from the elephants falling under the stroke of his sword, like mountains struck by the thunderbolt of Indra and in which demons and paisachas closely followed dancing headless trunks."¹

Warfare was a constant occupation of kings employed for purposes of defence and battles were always savagely fought out in the pasture region. The government levied such taxes as *Aneya Sese*, *Kudureya Sese* and *Dandina Bhya-gate* to meet the extraordinary demands of the army during the period of warfare. As the slaughter of men was sinful, the ministers often advised their sovereign on the eve of battle to abandon active hostilities in preference to less savage methods of deciding the victor of the day, as *jalayuddha* (battle between tuskers in water) *Mallayuddha* (single combat).² Conches, horns and kettledrums were sounded while

¹ E. I. VI. 47.

² Pampa Adipurana IV. Asvasa, Padyas, 101-113.

the army was on the march and *Javanikes*¹ (tents) were used for encampment on the field. *Bovas* (carriers) *Bidina bovas*, *Hiriya Kottarada Bovakkal* and *Jagati Kottali* were camp followers.² When the elephants marched to battle they were conducted by Harikara. They were bound with chains on the legs and round the stomach so as to get control over their movements. The line of elephants was followed by infantry with bows and arrows, cavalry, and waggons carrying food for the army. The banner was attached to the king's chariot or the elephant in front of the army.³ The deep voiced drum when sounded could be heard from afar elating the spirit of the soldiers and striking terror into the hearts of the enemy.⁴ A priest *Ketakicharya* accompanied the army to perform daily ceremonies.⁵ Biting the straw by the enemy was taken to be a token of surrender.⁶ The strategy and tactics used in the field of battle were an old fashioned one, based on ancient text books which took no account of foreign methods and the unity of command was

¹ E. C. V. Cm. 269.

² VI. Hl. 7.

³ E. C. IX. Bn. 6.

⁴ I. A. II. P. 303.

⁵ IX. G. 40.

⁶ IV. Kp. 9.

always hampered by tribal or sectarian divisions and personal jealousies. The loss of the leader was always the annihilation of the cause. When once a panic ensued nothing availed to keep together the fleeing troops and a defeat was turned into a rout.

Border skirmishes usually began with the capture of cattle, taken to be one of the many hostile demonstrations of the enemy. The driving off cattle from grazing grounds into the intervening woodlands, was tantamount to an act of defiance, and was followed by an affray for recovery of cattle, in which individual distinction was crowned with the grant¹ of rent-free-land. In cases of death in such patriotic exploits a grant of land called *Bal-galchu*² or *Rakta Kodagi* was made to the family, by the chief of the nad or the king. Whenever victory hung in the balance, it was customary for the commander to entrust the command to some noted champion and confirm it with the presentation of betel leaf, with the solicitation to devote his life to retrieve an impending defeat. To be chosen for such an enterprise was always deemed as a great³ honour. The courage of the warriors was stimulated by the belief that their

¹ E. C. X. ML Page. 66, X. Bp. p. 130. 36. 45. 46. 47.

² E. C. V. Cn. 205.

³ E. C. VIII. Sa. 84. 86. Rice: Mysore and Coorg from the Ins. 171.

deeds of valour were eagerly watched by celestial nymphs who, if they fell, would bear them away from the battlefield in a triumphant procession to enjoy the delights of paradise. A peculiar feature of the Ganga military organisation was the dedication of a few to the service of their king swearing to die with him on the field of battle or accompany him on the funeral pyre. One of Nitimarga's followers evinced his fidelity, by being buried alive under his master.¹ When Rajamalla Satyavakya died of hiccough at Kombale, certain of his followers committed themselves to death in the fire through sorrow² for his decease. These life-guards of the king came to be known in the time of Hoysala kings as *Garudas* and several inscriptions³ bear testimony to the inviolable vow of Garuda forces varying from one hundred to thousand, and their committing suicide when their sovereign died, along with their wives and servants.

There is no evidence of a regular judicial procedure in inscriptions and it seems fairly certain that a sort of rough and ready justice was dispensed accord-

Justice.

¹ E. C. III. Tri. 91.

² M.A.R. 1919. P. 63-68; E. C. V. Ag. 5-27.

³ E. C. VI. Kl. 9. 10; E. C. V. Ag. 5. 27.

ing to the discretion of the authorities. The king was the supreme court of justice and in important cases his intervention was effective. He never showed any partiality even towards his own kith and kin and whenever any of his relatives committed an act of injustice he never failed to grant redress to the aggrieved party. The king appointed judicial officers as *Dharm-madhyakshangal* and *Rajadhyakshangal*, who were to scrutinise morality as well as judicial and political affairs.¹ Their main duty was to check disloyalty to the throne, and to maintain the purity of justice, of morals and of charitable endowments. *Maha Dandanayaka* and chief of the Nadus also exercised powers of control and punishment and were spoken off as *Droha-gharatta*. *Dharmadi Karna* or *Dharma Karanika* inquired into revenue disputes and administered justice.

One of the striking aspects of judicial administration in Gangavadi was that of partition and inheritance of property. Some inscriptions recognise the right of the widow and her daughters to the property on the death of the man without male issue. Some other inscriptions completely ignore the rights of the widow and recognise the claims of the brothers of the

¹ E. C. VII. Sk. 123; E. I. XV. 81.

deceased. One inscription gives reference to the claim of the son-in-law failing which that of the uncles Kiriya and Hiriyaya and their sons.¹ The practice of allowing the children of female slaves to inherit the estate, on failure of all other heirs, seems to have been universal in the country,² as can be gleaned from several inscriptions which mention of the regulations regarding the claims of women and children of female slaves (*Tottinamakkalige saluvudu*). The property was used for charitable purposes in the last resort, by common agreement among the people in the absence of all heirs inclusive of the slaves to the property. No great distinction was observed in civil and criminal cases. Civil cases to be settled by the king's court or the chief judicial officers were very few, and practically the settlement of judicial disputes devolved on the shoulders of the village parliaments and corporations of towns. All disputes and questions had to be decided by or on the evidence of the leading men of the locality. Much unnecessary litigation was avoided by the practice of *Samyasaana*, failing which, by that of public sales in the presence of the leading men of the village. When disputes about

¹ E. C. V. Ak. 49; VI. Tk. 55.

² W. B. 219. Cp. 72, Cj. 59. Tn. 21.

the boundaries arose, the officers of the Nadu, as the Gaudas, merchants and the people of the village assembled at a place to inspect the property and to hear evidence and to give final decisions in the matter. Because of the importance of the matter, the unanimous decision of a large assembly of persons was always solicited. The decision was recorded by the Senabova of the village and it was incumbent on the parties concerned to accept the award of the arbitrators.¹ Usually the *Kula* in legal proceedings constituted the first court where attempts were made to bring about an equitable distribution of disputed territory. If its authority was questioned or repudiated, then the *Sreni* the trade guilds of the locality, the *Puga*, corporations of men of different castes and occupations and all residents of the same place, arbitrated in the matter. Superior to these local courts were the officers of the king, who in consonance with the wishes of the assembly enforced unanimous decisions on the contestants; when reliable evidence was not available then they gave decisions either by an examination of boundary marks or on the testimony of the respectable people of the village. The king settled the boundaries on his own authority and divided the dis-

¹ Ak. 49. M.A.R. 1924, P. 34, 35.

puted territory equally between the two parties.¹ The scope of the disputes over land sales was further limited by the provision, that tax payers should sell their immovable property to tax payers and the holders of *Brahma Deya* (tax free) lands only to those who possessed already such immunities.

Besides, the sale of immovable property had to be made in the presence of witnesses, with the consent of the sons, the *Jnati*, the neighbours, the relatives and the Mahajanas and was always to be accompanied by gifts of gold and water.² The sellers agreed to settle the disputes about the boundaries, if any disputes arose after the transactions.³ The usual practice was giving land only for cultivation (*Jalapashana Varjita bele Bhumiyagol*⁴) and of forbidding its mortgage to another. Sometimes the sale of the land was restricted only to those who could carry on services⁵ or its being transferred to the creditor himself on settlement of debts.⁶ The custom, as in some unusual instances, of exacting fines and threatening eviction of the

¹ Colebrooke: Mitakshara, B. II. Ch. V. 30; Ch. X 153.

² Ak. 82. 120. Kd. 56. Mitakshara * . Sd. I. 31.

³ Ak. 120.

⁴ Ak. 123.

⁵ Ck. 2.

⁶ Kd. 65.

tenant in case of misdemeanour, slander or adultery, the threat¹ of deprivation of property, and punishments in case of violation of customary laws, Samaja Sasanas or compacts with regard to preservation of pastures, and lands and management of temples, seem to have considerably circumscribed the scope of legal disputes and reduced the volume of judicial work for the king and his courts. In the administration of justice, strict regard was paid not only to the privileges of castes, corporations and families, but also to local customs and any infringement of a recognised law or usage was visited with heavy penalties. Most of the disputes were in reference to demarcation of boundaries of land, and to avoid the danger of injustice being done to any one of the parties, the king or officers of the Nadu often allowed the parties to call in divine evidence in the form of an ordeal. The ordeals were resorted to, only in the last instance when documentary evidence and testimony of neighbours were not available or were inadequate and unsatisfactory,² and when the defendant and the plaintiff agreed to abide by the result.³ If persons from high families, liberally disposed and devoted to

¹ Bg. III. 115.

² Md. 79.

³ Mitakshara Bk. II. Ch. VIII. 134.

religious austerities and observances, were cited as witnesses in ordinary contested suits, in trials concerning heinous offences, as treachery, disloyalty, assault, slander or violence, the ordeals alone were the witnesses.¹ The ordeals by balance, the fire, the water, the poison and the rice were resorted to in trials to obtain exoneration from serious allegations. The ordeal by balance was prescribed for the brahmins, women, children, old and cripple, while that of fire and water and poison for Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra respectively. The rice ordeal seems to have been administered in case of larceny.² Several inscriptions merely mention of the holding of the consecrated food in the presence of the village God (*Divyava Hididu*). Probably ordeals were performed in the presence of a large body of people and invariably in front of a temple. After the worship of the deities of the village by wise and pious brahmins, a *Sirapatra* leaflet containing the subject matter of the accusation was placed on the head of the man performing the ordeal, by the chief judge with the mantra saying that the sun, the moon and the fire know the action of men.³ After the ordeal the judges examined

¹ Gharpure: Mitakshara, P. 40.

² Gharpure p. 165.

³ Mitakshara Bk. II ch. VII. 148.

the result and gave a decision, and a certificate of victory (*Jayapatra*) was issued to the successful party.

The government was free from cruelty and was not debased by the system of espionage. The king let the people live their own lives without needless interference and was temperate in the repression of crime. As Jainism, the dominant religion of Gangavadi laid the strongest emphasis on moral rectitude and sanctity of animal life and promoted high truthfulness and honesty among the people, crime seems to have been rare. The administration of criminal justice was not characterised by any uncompromising sternness and slight regard to human life as was the case in the early period. It was considerably milder and offences were generally punished by fines, death penalty being inflicted only in cases of murder. A rough and ready justice was dispensed with and most of the cases were decided by ordeals. The local authorities were invested with magisterial powers and as a frequent resort to the capital, was not possible a great many of them were decided by them. One of the special characteristics of Ganga grants is their insistence on heavy penalties being imposed on offenders for breaches in the town wall, channel, banks of reservoirs or destruction of groves and cattle. The sinner who destroyed

the tank or grove or a cow was not only guilty of slaughtering tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges, of being stained with the murder of a thousand brahmins of Varanasi, but also of incurring the result of five sins and of suffering eternal perdition in the place appointed for such sins.¹

With regard to local fights the King's representatives in the Nad administered justice. Death seems to have been the punishment for murder, for, a powerful wrestler for having the misfortune in killing in a match or a bout, his opponent apparently a relation of a king was marched off to Talkad and put² to death.³ The dwelling place of a chief who had kept possession of a dog that did not belong to him was burnt and his property was confiscated.

¹ E. C. IV. Hg. 18.

² E. C. IV. Hg. 18.

³ E. C. VI. Hs. 10-11.

CHAPTER VIII

RELIGIOUS LIFE

SOUTH India during the ten centuries of the Christian era was an intellectual arena of four different warring creeds, Jainism, Buddhism, Saivism and Vaishnavism. A colourful record of their conflicts with each other is indelibly preserved by the incidental marks left on monuments and on the body of the vernacular literature of the country. But their animosities, rivalries and bickerings did not lead to any violent or active persecution. The Hindu mind has always been prone, to quote *Niti Vakya-mṛta* of Somadeva, to recognise Dharma as the common heritage of all mankind, and particular usages as special only to classes or castes enjoined in their respective scriptures bearing on *Varnasrama-Dharma*. This toleration was the accepted principle of the state, in religious affairs, and was consistent with existing practice as a state policy. The kings patronised different sects heretical and religious and even took a leading part in religious discussions and disputes, for they liked to hear learned discourses and discussions between savants expounding ap-

parently diverging faiths. The scholastic character of theological discussions, of recognising the opponent's defeat in argument as the criterion of truth and the recognition of the supremacy of logic in preference to revelation, were some of the notable features of the religious life of this period. The beliefs of the hindus and other communities abounded in all kinds of theistic and atheistic views and one could discern several strands of religious belief among the people. The beliefs were compounded of such varied elements such as nature worship, worship of creatures like the snake and worship of many gods and goddesses presided over by the supreme deity living in celestial *lokas*, ancestor worship, veneration of parents, worship of spirits, hero worship and at the same time a form of pure monotheism which thrived very well in the midst of this conglomeration of beliefs.

The earliest inhabitants of Gangavadi were a race of serpent worshippers. They were, probably, a powerful scythian race who invaded India prior to the appearance of the Aryans, and established their colonies all over the country. Inscriptional records of kings claiming Naga descent,¹ marrying daughters of the Naga race, and using *Phani Dhwaaja* or serpent flag²

¹ I. A. VII 106.

² E. C. VII. Honali. No. 50; VII, Cm. 95.

as a symbol of royalty, leave no room for doubt that the Nagas of Gangavadi, as of the other parts of India, were a real and powerful race of people to whom the application of the term Naga was not merely a tribal name but an appellation used by later brahmanical writers to distinguish them from the rest. Their veneration for the Naga must have been the basis of this appellation. Naga worship was more widespread and intense in the South and Gangavadi than in other parts of India. These people were cut off by nature from the rest of the peninsula and their popular beliefs were less subject to the influence of neighbouring culture and religion. Though there are references in mediæval inscriptions of the South, to kings giving donations to brahmins for performing the *Sarpa-yaga* sacrifice, indicative of a wholesale subjugation and extinction of Nagas as serpent worshippers, it is difficult to determine when Naga worship came to be superseded by Saivism and other forms of worship.

Saivism in its early phases was influenced by animistic and Naga cults. The romance of Siva, a trans-Himalayan God, his desire to have a part in the worship of the conquering Aryans and in their sacrifices, his disturbance of Aryan rites, and his ultimate exaltation to the status of one of the trinity, all elucidate the intimate

struggle between Aryan gods and non-Aryan gods for supremacy. Of all the three gods of the Trinity, it is Siva, who represents chiefly the non-Aryan or Turanian element in Hinduism by his intimate connection with the Earth as lord of the mountains and master of the ghosts. It is as difficult to state when the Linga cult became prevalent, in the country, as it is to fix the time when the worship of Siva coalesced with that of the Linga. That Siva was being revered in the form of the Linga in the first century A.D., appears pretty certain, for this worship seems to have been the state religion at the time of the early Kushans and Kadamba kings.¹ Sporadic settlers, followed later, by progressive streams of brahmins, gradually spread themselves up to the extreme end of the peninsula and impressed their religious thought upon the local inhabitants, long before the active spread of Buddhism or Jainism. The Jogayyapetha and Mayidavalla grants, the Malavalli and Talgunda inscriptions recording grants to Brahmins for worship of Siva, and references in inscriptions to the people north of Vengadam, of Erainainadu (Mysore) speaking the same language Vaduki, confirm the belief that the brahmins had migrated to the South

¹ I. A. XLI. 231.

in the first few centuries after Christ, and had made extensive settlements there. A knowledge of the peculiar thoughts, manners and religious tenets of the Dravidians led to an interchange and assimilation of ideas hitherto strange to these Aryan invaders. Dravidian culture had a matriarchal element and the Aryan pantheon which had not admitted goddesses to supreme authority so far, probably because of the patriarchal character of its culture, absorbed much of the religious spirit of the Dravidians, who from a remote period had worshipped the mother earth as the principal deity. The Aryan religion underwent a change which was affected as much by intellectual development as by environment. The brahmanisation of the old native gods and goddesses was accomplished gradually, with the result that most of the spirits and objects dear to the soil were now exalted to the status of divinity and assigned a place in the Hindu Vedic pantheon. Dravidian goddesses as Gramadevata or Kshetradevata, a titular deity of the village or town as Kali, Durga and others in the development of theistic and devotional hinduism were incorporated gradually into a consistent theological scheme as manifestations of one goddess—who is herself the supreme power, energy, or Sakti the power inherent in the male deity. The early

forms of worship such as those of spirits, Naga and Linga, flourished in the country contemporaneously with Buddhism, and Jainism.

There is a divergence of opinion regarding the time when Buddhism was introduced into the south. Some scholars contend that it was already flourishing in the country long before the time of the great Mauryas. Though the Buddhistic chronicles of Ceylon profess to carry the time of the advent of Buddhism to the South as far back as the age of Buddha himself, the absence of any real knowledge of its history anterior to the age of Asoka leaves on one the impression that the active diffusion of the religion, might have been brought about solely by the energetic efforts of Asoka and Tissa of Ceylon.¹ Among the countries to which the emperor sent his great missionaries are mentioned *Mahishamandala*, *Erainaiyur*, *Vanavasi* and *Aparanta*, mostly comprising of the dominion of Mysore and its neighbourhood. The Andhras who established their hegemony in the Deccan after the dissolution of the Mauryan Empire were ardent Buddhists. The religion gained ground during their rule in those parts of southern India as Chitaldoorg, Shimoga, and Kollahpur and Paithan which had acknowledg-

¹ S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar: Beginnings of South Indian History. P. 9-36.

ed their rule. There were Buddhistic centres of considerable importance, both in the east and west of their empire, as *Purvasilla* and *Avar-silla Sangharanas* at *Dhanyakataka* (Amara-vati). The Buddhistic work *Manimekhalai* refers to the Brahmin settlements with their sanctified places for the celebration of sacrifices, large hermitages for the votaries of the Jaina religion, places for the residence and propagation of the Saiva faith, and well provided garden places, for the Buddhists, as having existed in close propinquity with one another in the country. It is probable that the earlier culture of the Deccan between 225 A. C. and 225 A.D. took a definite shape, primarily under Buddhistic stimulus and emerged into the new Brahmanical culture of the post-Satavahana period. It received the patronage of the Ganga kings along with other creeds in the country. Madhava II made grants to Jain temples, and Buddhist viharas. But Buddhism could not take deep root in Gangavadi and the South as it was intolerant of ritualism. At the same time it lacked the political influence that the other religions possessed in the royal households. It provoked great hostility owing to its nihilistic aspects. A leading religion in the Sangham period, it declined in the age of *Nayanmars* and *Alvars*. Sambandar, Manika-

vachakar Tirumalisai, Tondaradipodiyalwar, Tirumanghai Alwar, Nammalwar, were some of the great savants who realised the futility of endless religious discussions and the need for devotion to one supreme being, whose nature was Love. They engaged themselves in regular missionary work and carried crusades relentlessly to wipe out all heretical sects like Buddhism and Jainism which tended to disintegrate society. During the reign of Harivarma a Buddhist disputant, *Vadimada Gajendra*, in the pride of his learning affixed to the main door of the palace at *Talavanapura* a *pattra* or (scroll) asserting his claim to be the foremost scholar in logic, grammar and other branches of learning. Then a Brahmin named *Madhava Bhatta* put his pretence to the proof before the king and when the Buddhist opponent denied the existence of the soul, the latter established its existence and vanquished him. The king was pleased and gave the victorious brahmin the title *Vadhibha Simha* and with it the gift of the *Orekundu* village.¹ Likewise *Butuga* or *Nanniya Ganga* worsted a buddhistic controversialist in what appears to have been an open debate.

While Buddhism gradually became extinct in

¹ I. A. VIII. P. 212.

Gangavadi owing to the preponderance of Jainism, Brahmanism with its remarkable capacity to assimilate the vital elements of other cultures strengthened itself by absorbing the ethical aspect of its two rival creeds. The introduction of Brahmins into *Stanagundur* by the Kadamba king *Trinetra* from *Ahicchatragraharam* the admission of brahmins into Pallava country by *Mukkanti* and the devotion of Vishnugopa during the same period to the worship of Brahmins and the tradition of his having lost the Jain tokens which were the heirlooms of his house, are evidences indicating the general public recognition of Brahmanism in the south. Madhava and Harivarma are represented as being devoted to the worship of the gurus, cows and brahmins. Tadangala *Madhava* is described as the reviver of donations for long ceased festivals of the gods and sacrifices. Avinita, Durvinita, Sripurusha and Marasimha are mentioned in copper plate grants as maintaining like Manu, the castes and religious orders of the south and making large grants of villages to Brahmins. Brahminism continued to preserve its old Vedic rites and sacrifices¹ along with the worship of other

¹ E. C. VII. Sk. P. 178; V. Belur P. 121; IX. Kolar, 63.

native gods who were exalted to the Vedic pantheon. It enjoyed great patronage and even preferential treatment from Ganga kings though they were of Jaina persuasion.

The practices of some of the devotees of Siva were almost staggering and their beliefs strange. There were the *Pasupatas* sometimes called *Mahesvara*, who extolled Siva as the Almighty, wore the marks of sacred ashes on their persons and worshipped the image or phallic emblem of the deity.¹ Some cut off their hair, others made it into a top knot; some went about naked and smeared themselves with ashes, but all persevered in austerities to seek release from mortal existence.² Some believed in a set of demons who were the followers or companions of Siva and who were to be propitiated by human sacrifices or by oblations of the flesh of the dead. The *Kapalikas* worshipped Bhairava, wore garlands of skulls, offered sacrifices of animals and human beings, feasted on flesh and wine, worshipped women as the embodiment of *Adi Sakti*, and at the same time, recognised equality of all classes of people including the Panchamas in the act of divine worship. Many stories are current which testify to

¹ Fleet : Gupta. Inscriptions P. 165.

² Yuan Chang: Tr. Watters Vol. I, Pp. 296 and 3371; II, P. 47.

the strange beliefs of the Saiva cult and their prevalence all over Gangavadi. A Mahendra-Raja of Ganga lineage applied to Rajamalla I to permit the construction of a temple for the goddess "*Kilta Bal-eretti-Bhatari*" apparently a form of Sakti. The worshipper of the goddess was a Vaikhanasa,¹ one whose mode of worship was in accordance with *Vaikhanasa Agamas*. The *Tantric Siva* worship and *Candika* worship seem to have originated in the south among the Andhras and the Dravidians who were always spoken of as the chief priests in these rites.² Saivism in Gangavadi, however, was qualified *monism*,³ which abhorred the bloody sacrifices and the revolting practices of the Kapalikas. It regarded Vedas and Agamas as its scriptures, the former being intended for the twice-born and the latter for all. *Lakulisa Pasupatas* or *Kalamukhas* exercised considerable influence in Gangavadi in the ninth, tenth and the following centuries. Inscriptions also refer to other orthodox and heretical sects which adhered to their doctrines and lived in amity with the followers of other religions.

¹ M.A.R. 1910. P. 58.

² C. V. Vaidya: *Mediæval India* I. P. 104.

³ *Sarvadarshana Sangraha*: Tr, Cowell and Gough. P. 105.

Kurchakas, a community of naked monks,¹ *Nirgatas*² and *Goravas*, a set of Saiva ascetics like the *Pasupatas*; Atharva³ and Kashmir brahmins professing Saivism; *Yapaniyas*,⁴ a Jain unorthodox sect who had the appearance of Digambaras but followed the ceremonial ordinances of Svetambaras; and *Lokayatas*,⁵ an atheistical sect following the doctrines of *Carvaka*—these were some of the minor religious sects which in spite of their differences in dogma and ritual, enjoyed the patronage of kings and people.

Worship of naked standing idols of gods and goddesses, and beliefs about the potency of images expressed in the adoration of idols and erection of temples and statues of Vishnu, Tirtankaras and Bodhisatvas, became the order of the day. To Buddha's relics and images were attributed superhuman powers, as to Jain and Hindu gods; and ascetics also were believed to attain miraculous powers by the practices of austerities. The worship of different deities developed new rules and rituals and new philosophies and these were embodied in the Agamas

¹ I. A. Vol. VI. P. 25.

² I. A. Vol. VII. P. 38; C. V. XII. P. 290.

³ E. I. IV. P. 338.

⁴ E. O. XII. Gb. 61.

⁵ E. C. VII. Hl. 22.

which gradually assumed precedence even over Vedic rules and rituals.

Buddhism and Jainism placed the doctrines of Ahimsa and of Metempsychosis in the front rank of their tenets and directed their efforts mostly against the opponents of Ahimsa, the Mimamsakas, Lokayatas and Pasupatas. The belief that the individual soul is fettered by the power of its own Karma to continuous births and rebirths, and the imperative need for the soul to free itself from its mundane fetters, was utilised to inculcate high principles of morality. The spread of the doctrine of Ahimsa, its uncompromising regard for the sanctity of animal life, the doctrine of Metempsychosis and the conviction that the punishment for sin and the reward for merit would overtake the soul in the next life, tended to throw into the back ground and even odium the idea of animal sacrifice and partaking of animal food. In this manner there was a distinct improvement in the moral tone of society eliciting the testimony of foreigners as to the honesty, justice and truthfulness of the people.

It may safely be said that Digambara Jainism was supreme in the south maintaining its supremacy unchallenged till practically the ninth century A. D. and that its exalted position

Jaina
Acharyas and
their work.

was in no small part due to the propagandist activities of the great Jain Acharyas.

It is surmised that the Jaina religion penetrated south India as early as 300 B.C. and that Bhadrabahu, the last Srutakaveli, who predicted a twelve years' famine in the north, led the great Migration across the Vindhya, accompanied on this journey by his disciple, the Mauryan emperor, Chandragupta. On reaching Sravanbelgola and perceiving his end nearing, the Srutakaveli ordered the Jaina community to proceed on their journey, himself remaining at Vindhya-giri, the smaller hill at that place. There he died, tended in his last moments by his disciple.¹ Upon the death of Bhadrabahu, Chandragupta continued there as an ascetic for several years, worshipping the footprints of his guru, till his death by the Jaina rite of *Sallekhana*. It must also be remembered that up to this period there was no split in the Jaina fold and indeed this great migration constituted the initial fact of the Digambara tradition.² The Bhadrabahu legend is further supported by a complete absence of the Svetambaras in the south where the Jains claim to belong to the Mula Sangha or the Original Congregation. It

¹ Ep. Carn., III, Sr. 147-148; E. C. II SB. 31, 67.

² Vienna Oriental Journal, XXVII, P. 382.

may also be observed that the Digambaras had gone from Bhadapur (Pataliputra) or Tirupapuliyam (modern Cuddalore) to Delhi and Jaipur for religious propagandism.¹

For close upon half-a-millennium from this time on, Gangavadi witnessed a vigorous and intensive campaign by rival religions competing for supremacy as well as the peregrinations of religious leaders embracing different faiths on a missionary enterprise amongst the rulers and the masses. The Jain Acharyas began proselytising on an extensive scale and secured a rapid spread of their religion; and by about the 4th century A.D. Jainism had come to dominate the life and thought of the people of Pandya, Chola and Chera kingdoms. Tamil classical literature prospered under Jaina auspices, and Kaveripatanam and Madura became centres of great literary importance. Illangovadigal younger brother of a Chera king and contemporary of Gajabahu of Ceylon was a Jain and author of *Silappadikaram*. Tradition mentions of a sage Kundakunda as having occupied the pontifical chair about 8 B.C. and carried on the work of propagation. The scattered facts culled out from traditions and literary remains, the identification of Elacharya, the author of

¹ Ind., XXI Pp. 59-60.

Kural, with Kundakunda, the priority of *Kural* to *Silappadikaram* and *Manimekhalai* produce cumulative evidence to conclude that Kundakunda was of Dravidian origin belonging to the Dravida Sangha.¹ He probably lived in Pataliputra, the seat of Dravida Sangha and wrote *Panchastikaya*, *Dvadasamukha*, *Pravachanasara*, and *Samayasara* in Prakrit, then the court language of the Pallavas, for the benefit of his royal disciple *Sivakumara Maharaja*. He is reported to have made triumphant journeys to Pandya, Chola, and Chera kingdoms for the purpose of spreading the Jaina Dharma, and converted them to the true faith.

One of the most remarkable teachers of his line, intent on vigorous religious propaganda and on wiping out heretical and nihilistic doctrines of Buddhism, was *Samantabhadra*, who lived in the neighbourhood of the third century A.D. He is said to have been skilful in reducing to ashes the depressing and abstinence disease *Bhasmaka*. An interesting story is told in *Rajavali Kathe* how he, on the advice of his guru, went to Kanchi to gratify his voracious and morbid appetite and how he miraculously suppressed that appetite and earned the con-

¹ I. A. XX. XXI. Digambara Pattavalis Pp. 60, 61.

version of Sivakoti of Kanchi to Jainism.¹ His disciple later on came to be known as *Sivakotacharya* celebrated in jaina history for writing a commentary on *Tatvarthasara*.² It was a custom in those days for a drum to be fixed in a public place in the city.³ Any learned man who wished to propagate a doctrine or prove his erudition and skill in debate would strike it by way of challenge to disputation. Samantabhadra made full use of this custom, and powerfully maintained by his great learning and polemical skill, the Jaina doctrine of *Syadvada*. This preceptor addressed one unnamed king of *Karahataka* (Karhad)⁴ perhaps the capital of the Silaharas and undertook a missionary tour to Pataliputra, Malwa, Sindhu,⁵ Tikka, Kanchipura and Vaidesa.

Simhanandi is another celebrated teacher who is mentioned in many inscriptions as helping Madhava Konganivarma in founding his dynasty and establishing his power.⁶ He took up the cause of Madhava and Didiga, and in due

¹ E. C. II. P. 83.

² E. C. II. 254.

³ Giles: Fahien's travels P. 57.

Beal: The life of Hiuen Tsang Pp. 161-165.

⁴ I. A. XXI. 228.

⁵ E. C. II SB. 67; VIII Sa. 156.

⁶ Si. i. II, 387; E. C. VII. Sk 4; VIII Ng 35 and 36.

course he provided them with an army and invested them with all kingly powers.¹ He finally insisted on the two brothers changing their faith to Jainism, as Gangavadi was then predominantly Jain and attempted with their support to secure the solidarity of the Jaina community. The immediate successors of *Simhanandi* were *Vakragriva*, *Vajranandin*, author of *Navastotra*, and *Patrakesari*, renowned as a refuter of the *Trilakshana* theory of matter *Utpada*, *Vyaya*, and *Dhruvya*—existence, extinction, and endurance. He is not the Acharya referred to by Prof. Patak who imagines him to be identical with Vidyananda supposed to be a contemporary of Akalanka and the refuter of *Astasasti* and *Pramanapariksa*.² Sumatideve was the author of *Sumatisaptaka* containing wise thoughts on fortune, wealth, pleasure and salvation. *Kumarasena* and *Chintamani* were the immediate predecessors of the reputed *Srivardhadeva*, sometimes called from his birth-place, *Tumbulacharya* and the author of *Chudamani* containing 96,000 verses, a fact retold in Bhattakalanka's *Sabdanusasana*. An inscription quotes a couplet by Dandin³ of the seventh

¹ Rice: Mysore Gazetteer I. 310.

² J.B. B.R.A.S. XVIII P. 222.

Ibid 232.

³ I. A. XVI. 12.

century highly praising its author who produced *Sarasvati* from the tip of his tongue just as Siva produced the Ganges from the tip of his top knot.¹

A contemporary of Srivardha was *Pujyapada* also called *Devanandi* who probably belonged to the first half of the seventh century. He was a Jaina muni or anchorite who practised Yoga and was believed to have acquired extraordinary psychic powers. He travelled throughout south India, encountered disputants and successfully vanquished them in open debate. He is reported to have gone as far as *Vidheha* (Behar) in the north. His learning extended over a wide range and enabled him to make valuable contributions to Jaina philosophy, logic and grammar. Possibly, *Pujyapada* was the preceptor of *Durvinita* as *Sabdavatara* (the name of *Nyasa* on Panini) is attributed to a Jain grammarian by name *Pujyapada* belonging probably to the latter half of the sixth century.² *Pujyapada* was followed by a few Acharyas of the type of *Mahesvara* who probably kept up the traditions of *Mulasangha* by maintaining the supremacy of Jainism over other conflicting religions.

¹ E. C. II SB. 67.

² I. A. XIII, 211.

According to *Digambara Darsana*, a Dravida Sangha was founded at Madura by *Vajranandi*, a disciple of *Pujyapada*, for spreading the Jaina faith. Gangas, Pallavas of Kanchi and the Rashtrakutas of Malked were staunch Jains, one or two even going to the extent of persecuting other religions. We learn from the inscriptions of Western Chalukya kings Pulekesin II, Vijayaditya and Vikramaditya II that they favoured the Jaina faith by executing repairs to temples and granting villages to them.¹ *Akalanka*, a Jain teacher from Belgola who had been educated in the Bauddha college at *Ponnatanagara* (Trivatur) is reported to have vanquished the Buddhists in disputations at Kanchi. He addressed three verses to a king *Sahasatunga Himasitala* and in the third verse claims to have overcome the Bauddhas in his court. He secured the conversion of the prince and the banishment to Ceylon of the Bauddhas who were said to have come from Benares in the third century A.D.² Akalanka's period also witnessed the reinforcement of Jainism by a further migration of Jains from the north to Tondaimandalam and the establishment of their settlements at Annamalai, Madura and

¹ Bombay Gazetteer. II, 191.

² Wilson: Introduction to Mackenzie's Manuscripts P. 40.

Sravanabelgola. *Sandusena*, *Indusena* and *Kanakanandi* were some of the reputed teachers of the Jaina settlements at Annamalai. *Pushpasana*, *Vimalachandra*, and *Indranandi* who belonged to the original congregation at Sravanabelgola were probably the colleagues of Akalanka and contemporaries of the great Ganga rulers of the eighth century Sripurusha and Sivamara II. *Toranacharya* and his disciple *Pushpanandi* were gurus of Sivamara.¹ Vimalachandra, a contemporary of Akalanka, challenged the Saivas, Pasupatas, Bauddhas, Kapalikas and Kapilas in a letter which he applied to the gate of the palace of an unnamed king with a surname *Satrubhayankara*, whose city thronged with troops, horse and lofty elephants. *Paramadimalla*, during his extensive missionary tour, is reported to have quoted a verse in the presence of a king named Krisnaraya, probably, of the Rashtrakutas. *Aryavada*, another great Jaina missionary, observed the vow of *Kayotsarga* on the small hill at Sravanabelgola maintaining the limbs in a state of absolute immobility and thus obtained deliverance from the eight terrible kinds of Karma. *Charukirti* and *Karmaprakurti* were probably his contemporaries. *Sripala Deva* mentioned

¹ E. C. IX. 60, 61.

in *Jinasena's* *Adipurana*¹ like *Aryavada* was a *Trividyaacharya*, profound in grammar, logic and philosophy. *Matisena* and *Hemasena* followed the latter and earned great distinction by challenging Buddhist disputants in the court of one of the *Rashtrakuta* kings of the period. *Elacharya* who belonged to *Desigana* and *Push-takagaccha* was the guru of *Ereyappa* a disciple of *Sridharacharya*. He subsisted on water for one month and expired by *Samadhi*.²

The period between the ninth and tenth centuries witnessed a great religious revival in every part of the peninsula with the object of eradicating heretical doctrines of Jainism and Buddhism. The cult of *Bhakti* embodied in the revival of *Saivism* and *Vaishnavism* of the seventh and eighth centuries, was a reaction to Vedic exclusiveness, Jaina asceticism and Buddhistic moralism, and provided for the saving priest or preceptor as an essential factor to attain salvation. To secure the required ebullition of emotion, visits to places of holy reputation, acts of memorial service in temples and the pouring out of one's heart in verses and dancing were introduced. These changes in *Hinduism* considerably increased its influence

¹ E. O. IX. II. Sb. 67 and J.B.B.R.A.S. XVIII P. 222.

² M.A.R. 1914, 18, P. 63.

and secured the adhesion, loyalty and devotion of all those who were in the Jaina fold and were eager to expose to the world the inconsistency between the life led by their teachers and the beliefs to which people now adhered. If Sambandar brought about the downfall of Jainism in the Pandya kingdom, Appar expelled the Jains from the Pallava country.¹ The rise of Saiva saints and the Vaishnava Alvars, and their intensive and active propaganda against the Jains, the triumphant disputations and successful peregrinations throughout the Deccan and the north of the great *Advaita* philosopher *Sankara* and *Manikkavachakar* and the establishment of mutts and organisations in important centres of Saiva and Vaishnavite persuasions, all effectively removed Jainism from south India by about the latter half of the ninth century.

As a result of these aggressions, the Jains in the Tamil country sank into numerical and political obscurity though they retained in full their intellectual vitality and continued to bring out books on grammar, lexicon and astronomy. Inscriptions found in Malur, Periyakulam, Palni and Madura taluks indicate the

¹ Ramaswamy Iyengar and B. Seshagiri Rao: *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, P. 66.

extent of the territory over which Jaina influence was felt and the work done by *Kurandi Astopavasi* and his famous disciples, and others as *Gunasena*, *Naganandi*, *Aristanemi*, *Ajjanandi* referred to in *Jivaka Chintamani*, and *Mandalapurusha*, a disciple of *Gunabhadra* and author of the Tamil metrical dictionary. After their persecution in the Pallava and Pandya countries by the saints *Appar* and *Sambandar*, the Jains probably migrated in large numbers to Gangavadi always their centre and settled at Sravanabelgola.

The *Mulasangha* produced about this time some remarkable Jaina Acharyas who exerted great influence in Gangavadi and the Rashtrakuta kingdoms. *Prabhachandra*, one of the most influential Jaina teachers who preceded Jina, the guru of Amoghavarsha, influenced his sovereign in carrying out works of piety and encouraging Jaina thought and religion. *Jina* was the author of *Adipurana* and his royal disciple, according to *Chaundaraya Purana* wrote *Jinadharmadipikastaka*. *Gunabhadra*, a disciple of *Jinasena*, was a contemporary of the Rashtrakuta king Krisna II who ruled between 880-911¹ A.D., and wrote *Uttarapurana*. *Ajitasena* reputed to be the author of *Alankara chu-*

1 Bombay Gazetteer VII, Part II, 407-8.

damani and *Maniprakasa*¹ was a disciple of Gunabhadra and the guru of Marasimha and the celebrated Ganga minister *Chaundaraya*. Marasimha in 973 A.D. retired to *Bankapur* to end his days by religious exercises at the feet of Ajitasena and died after observing the vow of *Sallekhana*. Chaundaraya and his son Jinadevana were both lay disciples of Ajitasena and dedicated a temple to him at Sravanabelgola.

During the time of Ajitasena and his immediate successors great efforts were made with royal support to revive Jainism. *Dayapala* who composed the *Hitarupasiddhi* was the disciple of *Matisagara* and fellow-student of *Vadiraja*. The latter was one of the most remarkable teachers in the latter half of the tenth century who challenged rival religionists in the capital of the Chalukya sovereign *Jayasimha II* (1018—1042). Srivijaya mentioned in Kesiraja's *Sab-damanidarpana* and worshipped by Butuga, Marasimha and Rakkasa Ganga, was a contemporary of Vadiraja.

Arhadbali conspicuous in Jaina history for dividing the Mulasangha of *Saraswati Gaccha* into four sanghas, *Sena*, *Nandi*, *Deva*, *Simha*, "in order to minimise hatred and other evils that might arise owing to the nature of the

¹ Sanskrit Mss. in Mysore and Coorg, P. 304.

times,"¹ was a disciple of Gunabhadra as Ajitasena.

4 ' The most powerful supporters of Jainism in the south of India in their day were the Gangas. Simhanandi the great Jaina Acharya, who assisted in the foundation of the Ganga dynasty about 350 A.D., insisted that, if the people were to accept the faith, the princes should lead the way and enter the Jaina fold. Consolidation of the Jainas followed in Gangavadi as a matter of course. The Gangas, always ruled under the protecting and wakeful eye of Jinendra. Intensive propaganda on behalf of Jainism was carried on everywhere. Though the change of faith of Vishnugopa into Vaishnavism perhaps caused the five royal tokens given by Indra to vanish as foretold in the original warning and Todangala Madhava, Avinita, Durvinita and Mushkara showed distinct predilection towards Brahmanical Hinduism, nevertheless Jainism on the whole prospered widely in Gangavadi under the Gangas. The Gangas from the time of *Srivikrama* adhered more steadily to the Jain religion and with the Gangas and the Rashtrakutas favouring this great faith, it had a remarkably grand career for a few centuries

¹ L. A. XXI 73.

side by side with the Saiva and Vaishnava forms of Hindu religion. Numerous endowments for temples and temple building sprang up.

Several of the Ganga kings like Nitimarga, Butuga and Marasimha were not only well known for their learning and scholarship in Jaina philosophy but were also remarkable for their great acts of piety. Bastis, monasteries, bridges, manastambhas, renovation of tanks, gifts of villages for religious and humanitarian purposes followed. Chaundaraya, himself the author of a history of the Tirthankaras, constructed the Chaundaraya basti and the colossal image of Gomatesvara at Sravanabelgola. Even Rakkasa Ganga and Nitimarga III during the dark days of the dynasty continued their patronage of this religion. The temple at Talkad was constructed and other works undertaken by them. Talavanapura or modern Talkad, the capital of the Gangas for about eight centuries, was once a mighty city, adorned with beautiful temples and monuments of architectural interest but it is now, submerged in the sand dunes inexorably hoarded up by the river Kaveri; and who knows that some day, a merciful providence may render munificent aid and thus help towards restoring the architectural beauties and reviving in true and glorious colours the past memories of Ganga rule!

Some Jaina
Practices.

Asceticism has always been the ideal of Digambara Jainism. The conquest of the weakness of the flesh expresses itself in the renunciation of clothing and a rigid clinging to the austerities of ascetic life. Of all the ascetics, a Jaina sadhu stands apart by the peculiar nature of his garments and austerities, as he was expected to observe the five great vows and redress himself from the *dandas*, *salyas*, *garvas* and *pramadas* which taint the soul. The Jain Acharyas were skilled in the contemplation of the Jaina faith and the twelve *Bhavanas*.¹ The Jaina Acharya was expected, with the perpetual idea of the transitoriness of the world and the helplessness of man before inexorable death to subdue greed by egoism, and purify his intellect. He was to believe in the inevitability of the fruition of Karmas (*asrava*) and in the subjugation of the soul to a never ending cycle of births and rebirths (*samsara*). A clear conception of the dependence of one's own future on oneself (*ekatva*) was another attitude which the Acharyas had to cultivate, together with the separation of all else and the clear idea of the solitude of the soul born alone and passing alone (*anyatva*). Since ignorance of truth,

¹ E. C. II 141, 258.

passions, evil propensities and senses lead the mind towards external objects of the world (*asrava*), sedulous attempts were to be made to redeem the soul from *karmic* matter through right knowledge and self-restraint (*samvara*) and shedding of *Karma* already there, by subduing anger by forbearance, pride by humility, duplicity by sincerity, greed by contentment, sense objects by control of the senses.

Freeing of the eternal spirit from the bonds of eternal matter by asceticism and austere religious practices was thus the fundamental fact in the life of the Jaina Acharyas of the Ganga period. He who could not resist his passions and could not endure austerities could commit suicide, for the Jain ascetic was assured of *Nirvana* after twelve years of asceticism consisting of very rigid fasts. Of the twelve *Pratimas* or fasts that he had to observe, the first seven extended progressively from one to seven months, and were not undertaken during the rainy seasons. Hence they covered a period of nearly nine years. The next three fasts extended to seven days and nights each, while the eleventh and the twelfth were of only one day and one night's duration. The Jaina teachers never washed themselves and some of them were reputed as *Maladharins*¹ or the bearers of dirt,

¹ Rice's introduction to E. C. II. P. XXXVII.

just to illustrate their contempt of worldly habits.

The *Sravakas* or *Bhavyajanas* had also a rigid duty to perform as their gurus, for in the Jaina society the differences between the training of a layman and that of an ascetic was not one of kind but one of degree. As a part of his religion he was required to abstain from all thoughts and acts of injury to all living beings, to avoid falsehood and theft in all forms and to wean himself of all sexual appetites and sordid feeling born of an innate and insensate desire for worldly possessions. So, even with regard to the duties of the house-holder, the permanent note which dominated the whole body of prescribed codes of duties was non-injury to all sentient beings (*ahimsa*) and an uncompromising series of self-denials.

Several inscriptions mention *Pratimas* and *Lekhanas* undertaken by Jain gurus. Most of them which go back to the seventh and eighth centuries A. D. record the death of men and women by religious suicide or by starvation to death by the performance of the vow of *Sallekhana* which is thus described in the *Ratna-Karandaka* of Samantabhadra: "When overtaken by calamity, by famine, by old age or by incurable disease, to get rid of the body for Dharma is called *Sallekhana*. One should by

degrees give up solid food and take to liquid food; then giving up liquid food, should content himself, gradually with warm water; then abandoning even warm water should fast entirely and thus with mind intent on the five salutations should by every effort quit the body. Firm faith in Jainism, observance of the *Anu, Guna, Siksa Vratas* and *Sallekhanas* according to rules at the time of death—these complete the duties of the householder.” Though the taking of life is the greatest sin conceivable to a Jain an exception was made in favour of vow of voluntary starvation which was looked upon as the highest proof of that victory over bodily passions which made a perfect Jaina. The inscriptions at Sravana-belgola record the steadfastness of those who fulfilled the vow of *Samadhi*¹ *Sanyasana* or *Sallekhana* by keeping their minds free, “on the one hand from relentings and on the other from impatience for death, and letting their thoughts dwell on those who had conquered the flesh before and had attained the state of the gods and simply awaiting release by death.” A more expeditious and pleasant method of putting an end to one’s life was that of *Jalasamadhi*² performed by the Chalukya Somesvara and others.

¹ E. C. II. SB, 1, 2, 29, 59, 93, 108, 138.

² Bhandarkar. History of the Deccan. P. 84.

Decline of
Jainism.

The decline of Jainism in the south was early and sudden. The opposition came from the revival of Saivism by about the eighth and the ninth centuries. Still the religion could resist the inroads into it and maintain its hold on the people for another two centuries, on account of powerful royal support it obtained, and the identity of its ritualistic ordinances with Hindu ceremonial. Its influence waned considerably after the tenth century owing to inherent and adventitious causes. Corruption gradually crept in, owing to their contact with people of various customs, methods and practices. Its original purity was tainted by the introduction of undesirable changes, and the religion which started with the condemnation of rituals ended by becoming as ritualistic as Brahmanism. Every relaxation of the old thorough-going position which was welcomed and supported by the converts from other faiths only aggravated weakness in the movement for reform. Ideas ceased to grow, scholastic learning alone received rewards and recognition and there was no longer any spirit of change and progress anywhere to counteract the growing decay. Even the old ideal of life, the salvation of the *Arhat* to be won in this world by self-culture and self-mastery was clouded by punctilious observances

of all the ceremonial ordinances of the faith and pursuit of the straightest path of orthodoxy. The code of discipline, abstinence and morals was far too stringent and austere for the large number of monks and *Bhavya-janas*. Adoption of Sanskrit to express philosophical and religious ideas enshrined in their scriptures showed the extent to which Brahmin thought had penetrated into the growth of Buddhism and Jainism. Pali bore an increasing admixture of Sanskrit after the second century A. D. The change in the form of expression connoted a subtle change in thought. When the Mahayanists and Jains re-stated their doctrines in terms of Brahmin philosophy, the change was complete and gave away the logical position of their founders, preparing thus for a religious reaction in favour of orthodox Brahmanism and Saivism, accelerated to a great extent by the trend of political events.¹

The Cholas were great devotees of Siva and used their political power for the suppression of Jainism. The statues of sixty-three Nayanmars in the Chola temple, and the paintings of the bloody episodes in the mantapas of the Meenakshi temple at Madura bear witness to the active persecution of the Jains in the Chola

¹ Havell. *Aryan India* P. 81.

country. The Western Chalukyas also were devout Saivas and if the traditions are to be believed Jain statues and idols in the bastis were thrown away and the puranic gods were substituted.¹ The Kalachuri rule which followed the rule of the Chalukyas in the last quarter of the twelfth century, in spite of its being a religious movement in favour of Jainism could not stem the returning tide of Saivism, the Lingayat Schism under *Basava*.

If Jainism suffered great vicissitudes in its fortune in the south owing to the active hostility of Saivism, it had a spell of prosperity for some time in Mysore probably due to the influx of large bodies of Jains from the south after the seventh century. Sravanabelgola, Maleyur and Humcha *mathas* the last one founded by Jinadatta Raya continued to be still strongholds for a considerable period and enjoyed the great patronage of even some of the Hoysala kings and generals. The leaders of the community, during the interregnum, between the decline of Ganga power and the foundation of the Hoysala power, were themselves Jains and actively encouraged the construction of temples and Jain Bastis.

The fall of the Rashtrakutas and the Ganga kingdom of Talkad in 1004 A.D. and the wide

¹ Ramaswamy Iyengar and B. Seshagiri Rao, *Studies in South Indian Jainism*. P. 112.

conquests and temporary domination of the Chola kings bitterly hostile to the Jaina faith and destruction of Jain temples and monasteries were a cataclysm to Jainism. The revival of Kalamukha Saivas in the eleventh century, the probable change of faith of Vikramaditya VI, the greatest ruler of the century, the revival of Vaishnavism, and the conversion of the Hoysala Vishnuvardhana to Vaishnavism completely alienated the kings from the austere teachings of the Jains. Losing support of the royal family in Gangavadi, persecuted by the Cholas in the Tamil land, and displaced by the Lingayats in the southern Maharatta country, Jainism naturally succumbed in south India finally. Still it lingered on for two more centuries, but the rise of the powerful kingdom of Vijayanagar, standing as the champion of Hindu civilization and culture, and a bulwork against muslim aggressions, completely relegated to the background Jainism which had for a long time held a pre-eminent position in Mysore. Under-nourished and under-fed, for want of popular and royal support, Jainism lost much of its importance and sought refuge in a few of its original and well-known centres where once Jain Sanghas had flourished and constituted the nucleus of a great and active propaganda.

CHAPTER IX

ARCHITECTURE IN THE GANGA PERIOD

GANGAVADI, from the early centuries of the Christian era, has been a veritable museum of monuments, temples, sculptures and stambhas which bear remarkable witness to the splendid vitality and intellectual refinement of the people. These architectural survivals have been considered to belong severally either to Buddhist, Jaina or Hindu, or Dravidian, Chalukyan or Hoysala types. Eminent writers have adopted this classification in order to indicate the most active periods of progressive designs in the architectural history of the country as they reflect the alterations produced to some extent in artistic conceptions by changes in the religion of the country or dynastic beliefs.

The general consensus of opinion is that the various styles met with in Mysore and South India in the apsidal temple, the pyramidal storeyed structure, the waggon-headed roof, and the circular shrine chamber with great variety of plan and design are merely developments of Buddhistic buildings. The prevalence

and popularity of the Buddhistic dedicatory, funeral and memorial stupas prior to the Hindu ones, the paucity of the oldest examples of independent Hindu plastic arts before the Christian era, and the marked similarity of a few early Hindu temples in form and on plan with early Buddhistic specimens have led to the presumption that Hindu architecture is derived from the Buddhist. Students of Indian architecture firmly believe that the structure and symbolism of the South Indian temples grew out of Hinayana Buddhism. The symbol common to Buddhist monasticism and Brahmin ascetism, *viz.*, the domed stupa, which covered the sacred shrines, and the procession path, windows, finials, pillars, sculptural motifs, and other elements of Buddhist iconography possibly entered into the Hindu style. It is stated that the stupas which were attended, revered and patronised by the people were converted into Hindu and Jaina temples, and their conversion was probably accomplished by adding a row of pillars all round the Chaityalayas and by covering the added area with sloping roofs.¹ The square rathas of Mamallapuram which represent a fully developed and sophisticated

¹ *Archaeological Survey of India*, 1907-'08. PP. XXIII, XXIV.

style, are considered to be the copies of Buddhist viharas and as the originals from which all the vimanas and gopurams or gateways of Dravidian temples are derived. The architectural forms of these early buildings of the sixth and seventh centuries were apparently dictated by local conditions and influences. The persistence of expression in forms appropriate to wood on stone was probably due to the availability of large quantities of timber in Mysore and the South and stone obtainable in shafts upto a great length. Similarly the vertical and horizontal repetition of complete buildings in miniature in temple-construction markedly noticeable in these monuments are supposed to be merely the enlargements of the structural arrangements of the many-storeyed Buddhist pyramidal viharas or monasteries.¹ These replicas or series of laboriously mounted oblong platforms in diminutive size in the form of a pyramidal structure, and crowned by the barrel-vaulted roof, or the Pallava spherical dome, merged themselves into a general decorative pattern by combination with figure and animal sculpture, thus completely obliterating the original design of the mediæval Buddhist stupa and gave us the highly enriched gopurams and

¹ Beal. *Buddhistic Records*, Vol. I, P. 69.

vimanas of the Dravidian temples. Probably stripped of its ornaments, a ruined Hindu temple presents to-day the same appearance as a mediæval Buddhist stupa.

Havell remarks that a Dravidian temple is a glorified stupa and that there is no evidence of the existence of any great architectural tradition among the Dravidians before Aryan civilization penetrated into the South.¹ It is also said that the origin of the South Indian temples has to be traced not to Buddhist stupas but to a primitive architecture that existed in the South prior to the advent of Brahmanism, Buddhism, or Jainism.² The practice of constructing megalithic tombs and sepulchral memorials that was prevalent among certain tribes and castes of South India in the early centuries of the Christian era and the testimony of epigraphical evidences showing the erection of Siva temples as memorials on tombs of important personages³ seem strongly to justify the latter point of view. The crude megalithic structures, dolmens, cromlechs and hero-shrines essentially tumular and external, spread all over Mysore and the South, might have been the

¹ Havell. *A study of Indo-Aryan civilization*, P. 169.

² *Annual report of the Archaeological Department*, Southern circle, 1914, P. 34.

³ S.I.I., Vol. III, Pt. 1, P. 26; Ep. Indica, VII, 193.

nucleus on the basis of which the early Buddhist architecture of the South developed.¹

Owing to these sharp differences of opinion on the origin of temples, it is possible to contend that an adequate classification of mediæval architecture is geographical and that ethnic and sectarian classifications are really misleading. However divergent the specimens of architecture in Mysore and the South in point of plan and design may appear to be, there is beneath them a fundamental unity of spiritual urge and æsthetic inspiration. To the Hindu, Buddhist or Jain, his whole life was an affair of religion in the past and nowhere was this religiousness more clearly manifested than in architecture and sculpture, through which he sought to realize the all-embracing notion of his faith. Architecture was thus employed in raising a fitting dwelling place for the supreme being and sculpture was an eloquent channel for emotional expression.

Further, there was the subservience of architecture to social continuity. The social and religious life of any particular epoch was reproduced in its art and architecture. To judge from the early temples of Mysore, the artists were not only concerned with the supreme

¹ Rice. *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, P. 510.

theme of the fundamentals of life. They wanted to reveal in their work collective emotions, folk-concepts and social ideals, a striking feature being the introduction of figure and animal sculpture. The great intellectual awakening of the Gupta period widened the mental outlook of the people and manifested itself in all the departments of human activity such as literature, art and architecture. For the first time, lofty ideas and themes of the renaissance and Brahmanical revival came to be revealed and expressed and communicated as live intimate realities and experiences in architecture. The sculptors, who had drunk deep from this new fountain of learning, aimed at the crystallization of the conflicts, direction and objective of human endeavour. The passionate forms and epic contents revealed in the rich sculptures of the caves at Ellora and Elephanta and in other temples of the period bear testimony to this tendency. It is very probable that this development of figure and animal sculpture was largely the result of the earlier attempts which the Jainas had made in embellishing their temples and *samavasarana* structures with sculptures of gods and goddesses. The emphasis that fell on decoration and sculpture and elaborate ornamental profusion, noticeable in the temples of the ninth and twelfth centuries, is due incident-

ally to the discovery of fine, chloritic schist which enabled the sculptors to produce so much of the beautiful, delicate, lace-like tracery which characterises the later works of art. Architecture and sculpture no doubt were regulated by canons of temple ritual and the craftsman's code and manual but these, instead of being serious impediments to an unfettered display of genius, were elastic enough to allow the creation of things of beauty as objects of joy forever.

The earliest monuments of Buddhist, Jaina and Pallava remains in Gangavadi go back to a period when a part of Mysore was evidently a Sata-vahana viceroyalty and Buddhism dominated the minds of the people. Though no distinctly Buddhistic rock-cut temples or stupas of stone or of wood have so far been traced in Mysore, still the representation of the *chaitya* on coins shows that the structural form of the *chaitya* was quite familiar to the people.¹ The Malavalli pillar stone with the Prakrit inscription of Haritiputra,² the Banavasi inscription recording the grant of a tank and a vihara, the Talgunda pillar inscription, all testify to the

¹ *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1909, Para 110.

² E. C. VII, Sk. 263.

existence and popularity of the *chaitya grihas* and *viharas* in Mysore. Such *grihas* and *viharas*, centres of great Buddhistic propaganda, providing accommodation for the residence of monks and ascetics and a meeting place for both laymen and members for worship, continued till the sixth century A.D., depending for their maintenance on royal patronage.¹ In the sculptured representations on coins and on inscriptions the figures of Buddha are conspicuously absent, while the events of his life appear to be narrated in aniconic symbols quite in consonance with the puritanical spirit and esoteric teaching of the Buddha. The Mahayanists of the north emphasized *bhakti* or devotion in their ceremonials, adopted the Yavana culture that was near it and constructed the images of the Buddha and *bodhisattvas*. They preferred the *Sikhara* to that of the Dome in erecting temples of worship. From inscriptions it is clear that the form of Buddhism which prevailed in Gangavadi was the Hinayana and as such the Hinayanists of the South emphasized *Jnana* or knowledge as the point *par excellence* in their religious life and adopted the *stupa* in exclusion to the *sikhara* as their architectonic symbol.

¹ M.A.R., 1909-10, P. 49.

Prevalence
of an Inde-
pendent
Jaina Style.

While the Buddhists left few traces of their architecture in Mysore and South India except for the traditions embodied in the designs of Saiva temples, the Jainas who enjoyed a considerable share of royal patronage under the Gangas have preserved for us fine memorials of their early history. Jainism co-existed with Buddhism from the period of the Mauryas and became an active proselytising creed under the Gangas and the Jaina *Acharyas* of the *Original Congregation*. As the religion of the Jainas and Buddhists are similar in several respects, a strong presumption arises that the style of the Jaina temples was very closely allied to the Buddhist style. The Jaina *Tirthankaras* are represented as seated in the same cross-legged attitude as the Buddha and it is difficult to mark off one from the other. In the absence of any conclusive evidence regarding the existence of an independent Jaina style of architecture, Fergusson and Havell, among others, are of opinion that Jainism did not create a special style of architecture of its own and that it adopted local building traditions to vivify royal and public interest in their creed. It may be admitted that all religions received their inspiration from a common store-house of symbolic and conventional devices, and *stupas*, railings and

wheels were available to the Buddhist, Jaina or Hindu as religious or decorative elements.¹ The Jainas had their *stupas* in the time of Asoka, not particularly as symbols of any religious cult but as memorials of the dead associated with the practice of burial. The *stupa* was venerated by the Jainas, for they intended it to symbolize a definite philosophical concept just as the Buddhists considered *Parnirvana* or the merging of the finite ego with the infinite.² Like the Buddhists and the Brahmins again, their ascetic ideal was symbolised by the stupa dome which covered the tower of the shrine, the layman's ideal of *bhakti* or *karma marga* being represented in the *sikhara*. A philosophical compromise of these two ideals was later symbolised by the combination of the two structural types, the *sikhara* being covered by a dome.³ With the diffusion of Indo-Aryan culture and the propagation of Buddhist and Jaina doctrines in the south, the *nagara* style or what Fergusson calls the *Aryavarta* style seems to have begun to spread and by about the early mediæval ages had become universal not only in the north but practically over the whole of the peninsular India. Generally, in the *nagara*

¹ Havell. *Handbook of Indian Art*, P. 14.

² Havell. *Ibid.*, P. 74.

³ Havell. *Aryan Rule in India*, P. 245.

style of structure the shrine was square or rectangular in shape with the *sikhara* or spire rising upto a point. Many temples in Mysore, and the Aihole and Pattadkal temples, in which the path of circumambulation is lighted by stone lattices in the outer walls and with a modest and small *sikhara* on the top, prove that this style was for a time prevalent in the Kan-nada and Chalukyan territories. The *nagara* style in the sixth and seventh centuries was superseded by the *vesara* style whose distinctive feature was a rectangular shrine with spire rising in regular steps and terminating in a hemispherical dome. A manifestation of this new style is noticed in the early period of the seventh century not only in the Chalukyan districts at Badami, Aihole and Pattadkal, in the Malegatti and Virupaksha temples but also in the temples of Mamallapuram and Kanchi. A glimpse at a round *samavasarana* structure of the Jains with three battlements consisting of sculptures of door-keepers, the twelve congregations as *Sramanis*, *Vaimanikas*, *Bhavanapatis*, *Vyantaras* and several divisions of goddesses, and crowned by an octagonal top with the lion throne, the Dhama *Chakra* and Asoka Tree with Jina figures on all four sides in the pose of ordinary meditation,¹ impresses on one

¹ I. A., Vol. XL, Pp. 125, 153.

the belief that this structure was definitely the parent of the *vesara* style.

The Jains built *Chaturmukha* or *Chaumukh* temples which were in the form of a mantapa or a hall cruciform in plan with a lofty doorway and pillared portico on each of its four sides and a verandah running all round. A flat roof formed of massive granite slab and exterior walls and pillars sometimes decorated with figures of Jaina saints were other features of this type of temple. The collonaded portico in front was usually cruciform in plan and was surmounted at the top by a pointed dome, resting on eight columns with bracket capitals and struts—the most distinctive features of the Jaina style.¹ The Jains created also the three-celled temples for housing Tirthankaras with their attendants, *Yakshas* and *Yakshinis*. The Chalukyas built one or three cells, so called from being all attached to a central mantapa, the main *garbhagriha* and the chief deity facing north or south.² This method of planning their structures adopted by the Chalukyas, Kadambas and the Hoysalas was evidently inspired from their original Jaina faith. The Kadamba structures with square pillars orna-

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Southern circle, 1913-14, P. 14.*

² *Ananda Alwar, Indian Architecture, P. 209.*

mented with geometrical designs, closed windows and figures of Gajalakshmi on the lintels,¹ pyramidal towers marked with horizontal stages and narrow tooth-like indentations, similarly suggest a Jaina origin.² The Hoysalas like the Chalukyas copied the existing Jaina models and constructed the famous *Trikutachala* and *Panchakutachala* temples. According to Bergess and Fergusson, the Jaina style of architecture prevalent in the south pressed northward as far as Ellora in the seventh and eighth centuries taking its Dravidian elements with it. Later in the tenth century, there was a great outburst of Jaina magnificence which continued for some time more. The Indra Sabha and the Jagannatha Sabha cave temples constructed under the patronage of the Chalukyan kings and nearly contemporary with the great temple of Kailasa illustrate the extension of the Jaina style in the north.

Lost
Specimens of
Early Jaina
Architecture.

Inscriptions bear out the prevalence of *Jinalayas* or *chaityalayas* and bastis in Gangavadi and Banavasi made of wood and conforming to this style of architecture before the Pallavas came to dominate and transform

¹ Cf. the monuments of Yellavati and other Jain bastis in the neighbourhood.

² Moraes. *Kadambakula*, Pp. 313-14.

its architectural *motifs*. Madhava, the founder of the Ganga dynasty, established on the hill of Mandali a basadi of wood which received great patronage by his successors.¹ Avinita and Durvinita are eulogised in inscriptions as benefactors of temples and chaityalayas.² Marasimha's general Srivijaya caused to be made an auspicious Jinendra temple, 'Lofty and immaculate suited to the grandeur of the royal capital Manne.'³ Sripurusha is reported to have made a grant to a Jaina temple constructed at Gudalur by Kandachehi. The Ganga sovereigns manifested a similar solicitude for Brahmanism by making large endowments to Brahmin temples. The grant of villages by Harivarman to a scholar for the worship of *Mulasathaneswara* and by his son Avinita, for the worship of Hara, bear testimony to the existence of Hindu temples, the sculptures and plan of which were identical with the prevailing style of the Jainas.⁴ We learn from the inscriptions that the temples, *Vinitesvara*, probably a temple constructed in memory of Avinita, and *Nitimargesvara*, *Jagadhara Nagaresvara* and

¹ E. C., VIII, Sh. 41.

² I. A. Vol. I, P. 136.

³ E. C., IX, Md. 60.

⁴ M.A.R., 1921, Pp. 38-39.

Sivamaresvara, were maintained by the rich subsidies made by Ganga sovereigns.¹

In the light of the knowledge obtained of early Chalukyan structures contiguous to and contemporaneous with those of the Ganga monuments of the period some essential features, which in all probability characterised Jaina structures in the country, may be mentioned. The *garbhagriha* always received light from one of the central halls and the palpable darkness so created by bad lighting served the purpose of exciting the religious fervour of the devotee for concentration and contemplation and made him believe to have visualised the sentient movements of the feature of God. The images of Tirthankaras were invariably placed in oblong or square cells while those of Gajalakshmi always appeared on the outer-doors of a Jaina temple and was never carved over the shrine door, the latter being preserved for the image of Jaina. The walls and the ceilings were profusely ornamented with rich sculptures of a seemingly weird and symbolic character, and carvings of the principal incidents in the life of a Jina.² Larger temples had encircling them a great open court which was generally

¹ E. C., IX, P. 67, IV, Mys. 2; XC, 48.

² I. A., XL, P. 161.

studded with a great number of cells for housing Jina images. In some temples, an upper shrine was provided with a projecting front and entrance and the first storey of the tower seems to have been its distinctive feature.¹ Provision was made for a stone ladder in the north aisle of the mantapa leading to the roof in the tower in which an upper shrine was located.² "The Jains used in their temple construction horizontal arches and domes which were not copies of wooden models." From Meguti and Aihole temples which were originally Jain it is clear that a Jain temple had not only arches and domes but the shrine itself was surrounded by eight small rooms in place of *pradakshina*, *antarala* and porch, and the roof of the mantapa was supported by sixteen square piers.³ The construction of a verandah to a temple must have been probably Jain, for Fergusson states, "It is not easy to settle in the present state of our knowledge whether the Buddhist *chaityalayas* had or had not verandahs."⁴ The outer walls were probably plain

¹ Fergusson. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, P. 22. Pl. XIX.

² Cousens. *Chalukyan Architecture*, P. 45, Pl. LI.

³ A. S. of India, Vol. I, Pl. XLV.

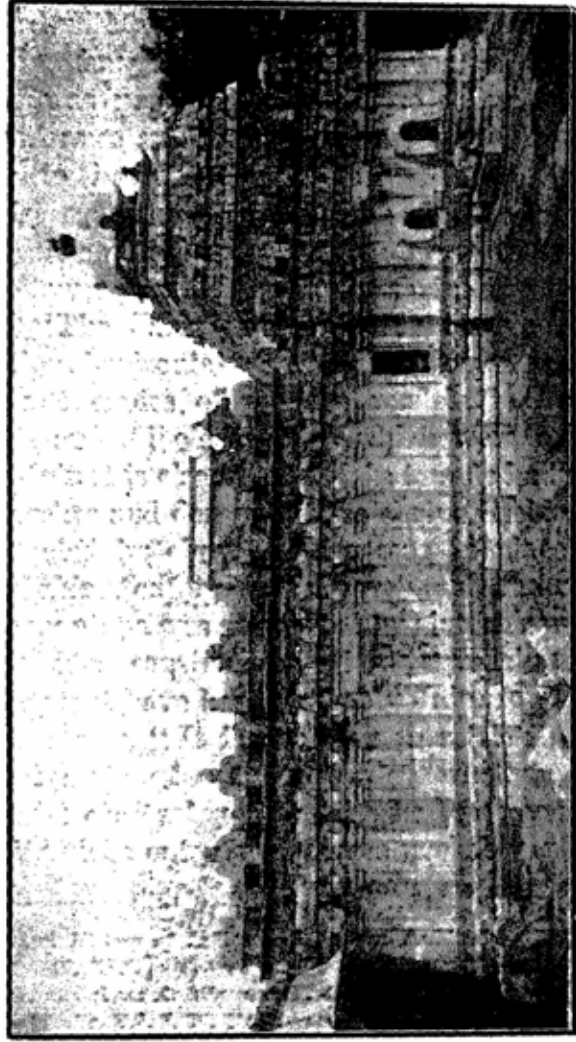
⁴ A. S. I., Pl. XLIII, P. 31; Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*.

and the temples faced all directions, north, south, west and east, the Jains being not very punctilious about the observance of Hindu superstition that temples should not face south.¹

A further stage in the evolution of architecture in Gangavadi was reached when the Pallavas in their scheme of expansion and in the full tide of their hostility towards the Chalukyas encroached upon Ganga and Kadamba territory and attempted at a consolidation of their power. There was a great upheaval in religious thought about the seventh century, with the rise of Vaishnava and Saiva saints who carried on propagandist activities to suppress the nihilistic tendencies of Jainism and Buddhism. This period witnessed also the beginning of temples and their monuments in stone instead of in perishable materials such as brick or wood. Great improvements were introduced in the design and structure of temples in the time of Mahendra Varman, Narasimha Varman, and the most striking feature of the style was the type of pillars used in temples. Cubical pillars with octagonal shaft in the middle and decorat-

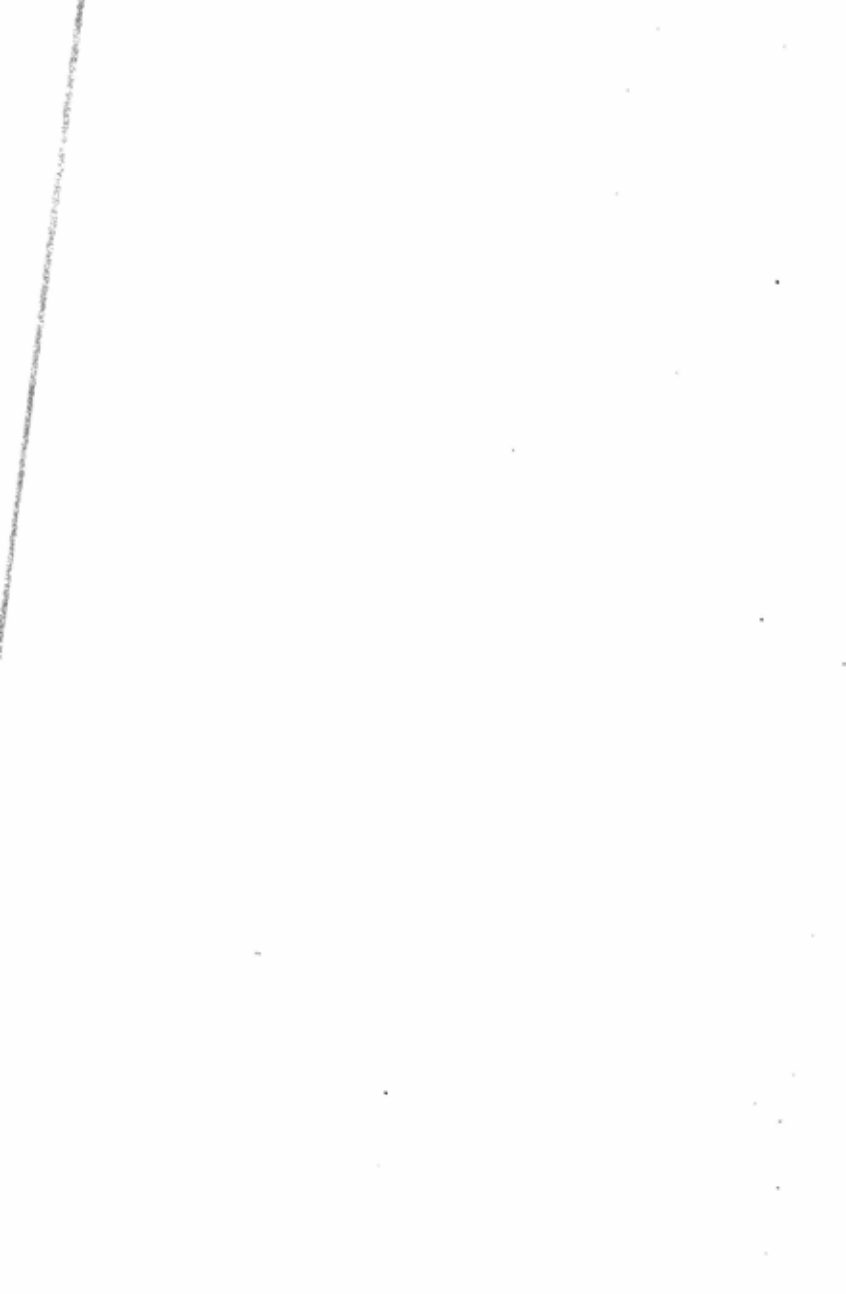
Traces
of Pallava
Style.

¹ Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, P. 322.



Bhoganandiswara Shrine—Nandi

(By courtesy of the Director of Archaeological Researches, Mysore)



ed with a conventional lotus design and corbel capitals were now replaced with elegant pillars with a conventional lion at the base carrying on its head the shaft of the column with double brackets between the capital and architrave intended for supporting the corners. This was evidently a stone copy of a wooden model.¹

This new style spread to Gangavadi and Chalukyan territory when the Pallavas were at the height of their power and revolutionised its indigenous architecture. The wooden structures which the Jains had built for religious purposes were now converted into stone temples. Structural prototypes of the Pallava style with storeyed *vimanas* and *gopurams*, horizontal mouldings and shadows, square pillars, corridors and enclosures, and attenuated pilasters on outer walls came to be repeated in Gangavadi and in some parts of the Chalukyan territory where the Pallava influence became supreme after the dissolution of the Eastern Chalukyan power. The *Kalahastesvara* temple² in Nidugaldurga founded by Billichorasa of the Pallava family, the *Somesvara*³ temple at Gangavari-palli, the *Bhoganadisvara* temple at the foot of

¹ A. S. I., 1918, P. 11.

² E. C., IX, Pavgada 45.

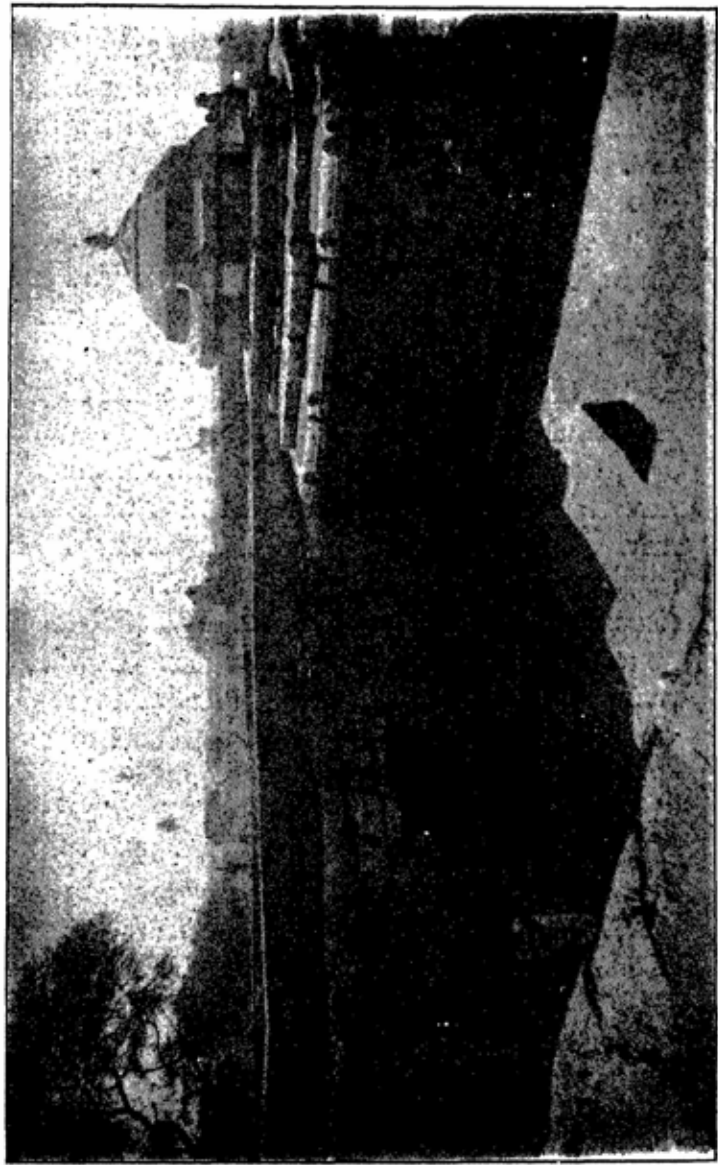
³ E. C., IX, Bg. 20.

the Nandi hills and the *Ramesvara* temple at Arkere,¹ all seem to be manifest copies of the Mamallapuram pagodas.

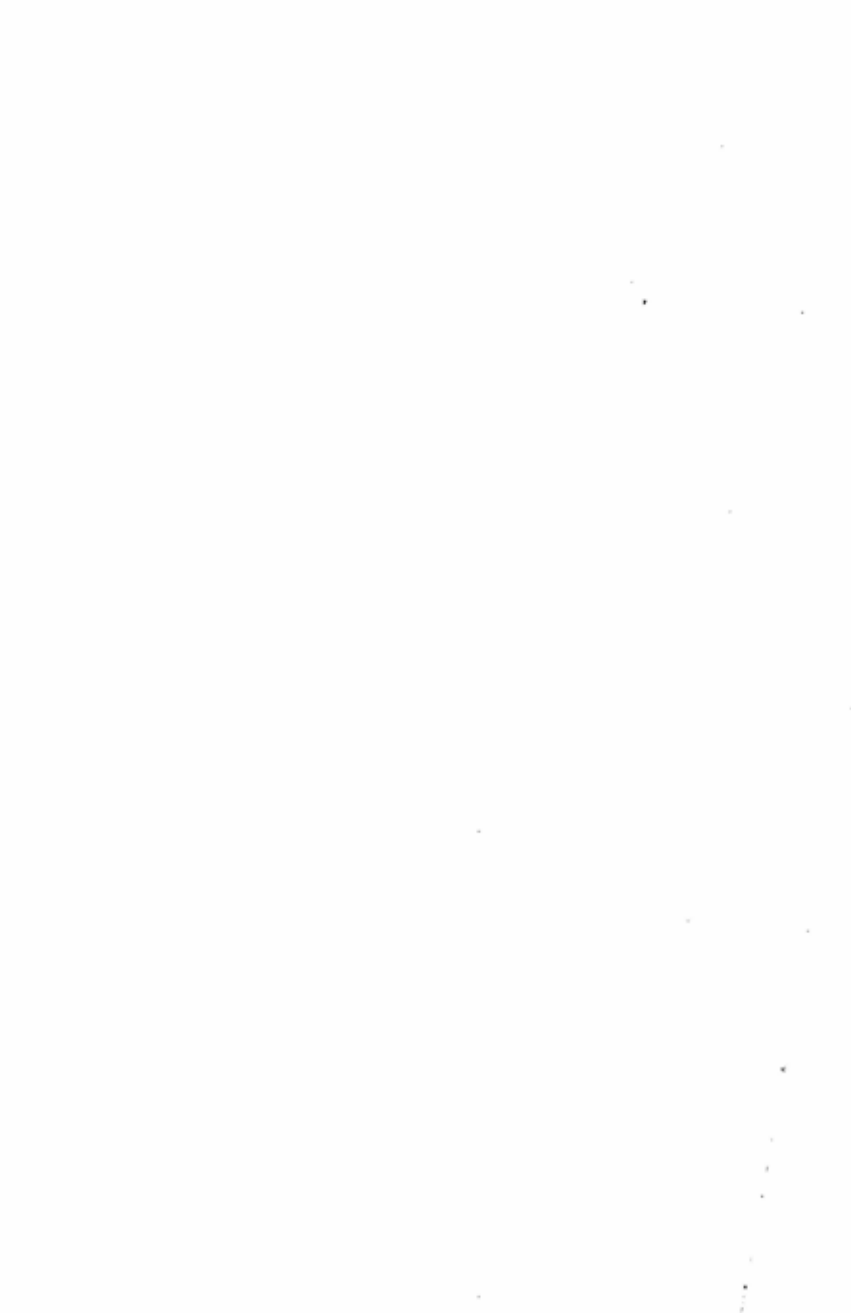
The *Somesvara* temple in Gangavaripalli is one of the earliest Pallava buildings in the state, built much earlier than the temple at Nandi. The temple consists of the *garbhagriha*, *sukhanasi* and *navaranga*, and *mukhamantapa* with a small gopura over the shrine. Dwarf pillars resting on the heads of sculptured-lions—the distinctive feature of the Pallava style—plain structure and ornamental friezes on the ruined mantapa that lies to the left to the entrance to the temple, unmistakably speak of the Pallava influence and the architecture of the period.² The *Bhoganandisvara* shrine, the oldest portion of the Nandi temple, was built by Ratnavali, consort of Banavidyadhara about 810 A.D. and was patronised by the Rashtrakuta king, Govinda III. It consists of a *garbhagriha*, *sukhanasi*, a *navaranga* carved with small figures and two pierced windows opposite to each other and a ceiling decorated with *astadikpalakas* in their proper directions with Siva and Parvati in the central panel. The outer walls have pilasters and turrets, a frieze of large images represent-

¹ M.A.R., 1911, Para 13.

² M.A.R., 1927, P. 21.



P. 292. Somesvara Shrine, Gangavara.—(By courtesy of the Director of Archaeological Researches, Mysore)



ing the marriage of Siva and Parvati, with a smaller frieze of swans above, and, conspicuously, two pierced windows which, unlike the perforated windows of other temples, have fine figures of Dakshinamurti, with holes in the inter-spaces to admit light.¹ The original shrine has been so completely overshadowed by pillared corridors and enclosures that the Nandi temple and other Dravidian structures now appear to be a fortuitous aggregation of parts arranged as circumstances required during the long course of their erection, thus lacking in complete symmetry, plan and structure.

During this period there was not only the construction of new temples but also the rehabilitation of old ones. Temples which were in wood were converted with the advent of the new style into Dravidian temples, dedicated either to Siva or to Tirthankara worship. The *Kapilesvara* temple at Manne, once the celebrated capital of the Gangas, is a brick structure with a *navaranga* and good pillars and pierced stone windows, ornamented creepers with dancing figures represented in all convolutions.² The *garbhagriha* of the *Somesvara* temple in the same place and built of brick seems to be as old

¹ M.A.R., 1909-10, P. 20.

² M.A.R., 1915, P. 22.

a structure as the former, probably going back to the eighth century. The *Mahalingesvara* temple at Varuna, once the capital of the chiefs of a minor branch of the Chalukyan dynasty, is a small plain building, and has a narrow frieze running along under the roof with minute sculpture illustrative of the Ramayana and executed in a realistic and spirited manner in a remote Jaina style.¹ The *Kannesvara* temple at Kannambadi built by the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III in 812 A.D. is no longer in existence.² The *Arkesvara* temple at Vijayapura with grants of Sivamara and Ereyappa, the *Patalesvara* and *Maralesvara* temples of Talkad with Ganga inscriptions, the *Narasimha* temple at Kunche with an inscription of Satyavakya Permadi, the *Nagesvara* temple at Begur can all be assigned to a period when the Gangas were at the height of their power.³

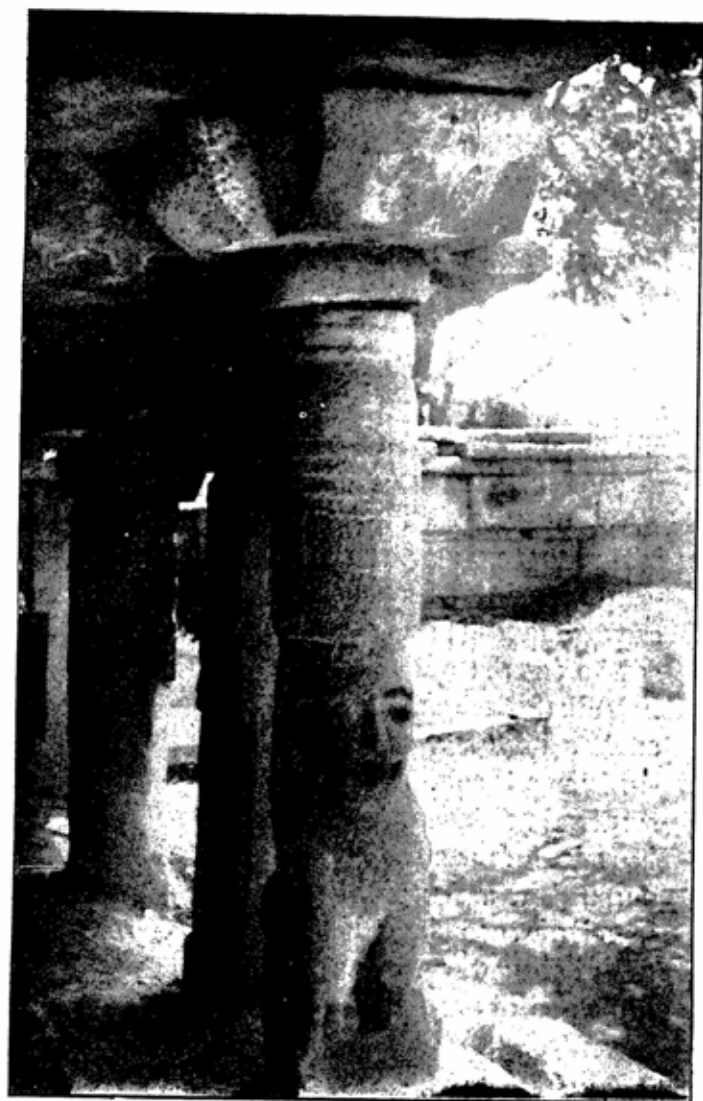
The later Gangas, if the early Jaina temples in Mysore are any guide in the matter, followed the Dravidian style. Building a temple as in the case of all Jains, who have an instinctive love of the picturesque, was a prayer in stone

Later Jaina
Temples.

¹ E.C., III, Mys. 136; M.A.R., 1916, P. 34.

² E.C., IX, Gb. 61.

³ M.A.R., 1912, P. 28; 1912, P. 19; 1913, P. 23; 1915, P. 23.



Lion Pillar—Someswara Shrine, Gangavara

which they thought would secure for them the delights of paradise in the life hereafter. Between the seventh and tenth centuries when the propagandist activities of the Jaina Acharyas were at their height, some of the most elegant specimens of architecture were raised in all important Jaina centres as Javagal, Kuppattur, Algodu, Ankanathapura, Chikkahanasoge, Heggadadevanakote, Kittur, Humcha and above all at Sravanabelagola, where both the "historic and the picturesque clasp hands." The *Chandranatha* basti at Hanagal,¹ the *Santinatha* basti at Kuppattur,² the *Adinatha* basti at Hanasoge,³ the *Parsvanatha* basti at Kittur, the *Guddada* basti of Bahubali, built by Vikramaditya Santara in 898 A. D., the *Panchala* basti built by Chattala Devi, the Pallava queen and the adopted daughter of Rakkasa Ganga, the *Makara* Jinalaya at Angadi with vestiges of old Jain bastis and the ruined figures of Tirthankaras,⁴ all bear testimony to their construction in the early Dravidian style.

These are all built in gradually receding storeys, ornamented with little simulating cells which with their connecting links are adorned

¹ M.A.R., 1911.

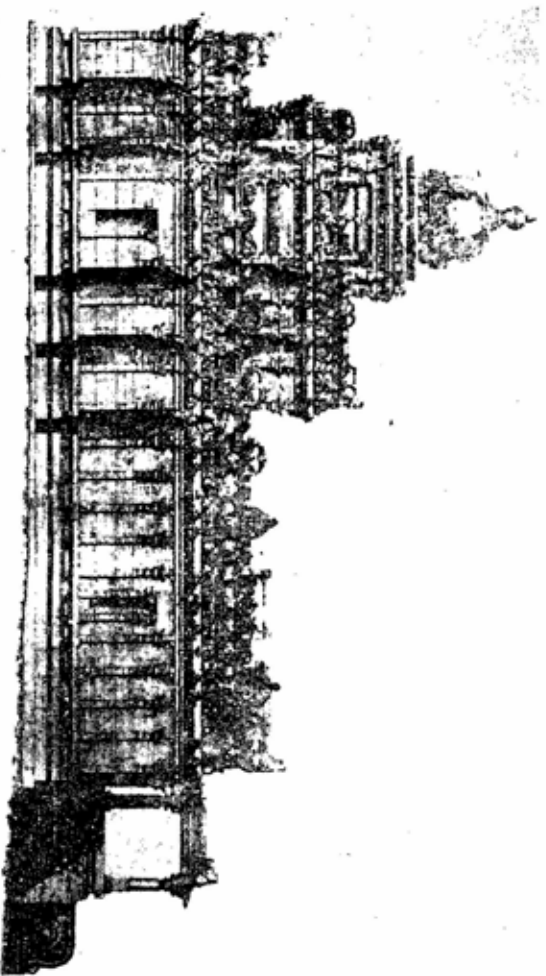
² M.A.R., 1912, P. 42.

³ M.A.R. 1912. P. 13.

⁴ E.C., VI, Mudigere 9.

with semi-circular dormer windows. Behind these cells, the walls are divided by slender pilasters into narrow apartments and in each is placed the statue of a deity of cross-legged Tirthankaras in a contemplative mood. The outer walls of most of these temples are similarly ornamented with pilasters and crowned with a row of ornamental cells.

The *Sasana* and *Chandragupta* bastis on the Chandragiri hills known also as Katvapra or Kalbappa hills in Sravanabelgola have *garbhagriha*, *sukhansi* or three cells and a narrow verandah in front with seated Yaksha figures. The Chandragupta basti has been considered to be one of the oldest temples on the hills and is attributed to Chandragupta. Chaundaraya basti has a *garbhagriha*, *sukhansi*, *navaranga* and a porch with verandahs attached. *Chandraprabha* basti was built by Sivamara, son of Sri-purusha, about the beginning of the ninth century while the Chaundaraya basti, the most imposing on the hill both in style and dimensions, was undertaken and completed by Chaundaraya about 982 A.D. His son Jinadevanna probably adorned his father's structure by adding an upper storey which he dedicated to Parsvanatha. The outer walls of this temple are decorated with pilasters and crowned with three fine friezes, one of small ornamental niches, the



Chaundaraya Basti

(By courtesy of the Director of Archaeological Researches, Mysore)





View of Chandragiri—Hassan

(By courtesy of the Director of Archaeological Researches, Mysore)

second of the head and trunks of *Yalis*, mostly in pairs facing each other and the third of larger ornamental niches with seated Jina and other figures at intervals. In most of these bastis is a square cell surrounded by a cloister at the back of which is a vestibule from which the small shrine is entered. The *vimana* over this cell which contains the principal image is surmounted by a small dome as in the case of every Dravidian temple, while the shrine itself is surrounded by walls of unusual thickness to support the *vimana*.

(a) *Stambhas*.—The distinctive contribution of the Ganga of the period seems to be the erection of mantapas, free-standing monuments and colossal statues of Tirthankaras on the hill in Sravanabelgola. Unlike the four pillared pavilions of the Hindus, the Jain mantapas are five pillared, with a pillar at each angle and one in the middle, as can be gauged from the pavilion before the entrance to the hillock on Sravanabelgola, the middle pillar being so supported from above that a handkerchief can be passed through below its base.¹ Fergusson states "If anyone wished to select one feature of Indian

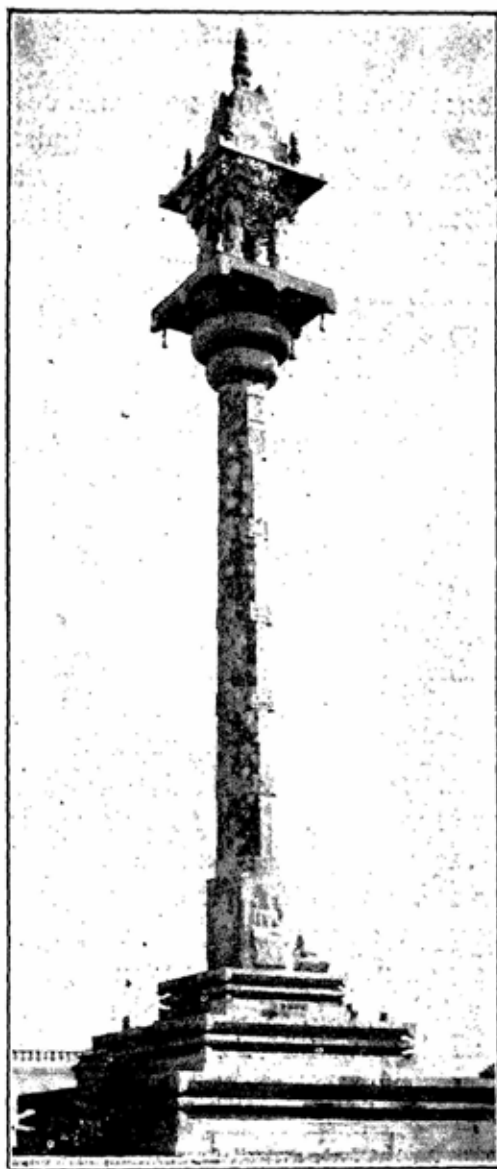
¹ Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*.

architecture which has its perfection and weakness there are probably no objects more suited for this purpose than these stambhas or free-standing pillars."¹ There are two types of pillars with which the Ganga architects were familiar, *Manastambhas* and *Brahmadeva* pillars. *Manastambhas* have a pavilion at the top containing standing Jina figures, facing the four directions as the one in front of the Parsvanatha basti.² The *Brahmadeva* pillar has a seated figure of Brahma at the top like the *Kuge* Brahmadeva memorial figure, built in 974 A. D. in honour of the Ganga king Marasimha, and Tyagada Brahmadeva pillar,³ built by Chaundaraya in 983 A.D. Though it is not quite clear whether a wooden origin can be claimed for these stambhas or whether they have any connection with the *obelisks* of the Egyptians—both are invariably monoliths—still, these pillars are undoubtedly, as Fergusson has pointed out, like the *Dipadans* and *Dwajastambhas* of the Hindus, the lineal descendants of Buddhist *lats* which bore inscriptions on their shafts with emblems of animals on their capitals. The *Tyagada Brahmadeva* pillar carved out of a single block of stone rests

¹ *Ibid.*, P. 277.

² E.C., II. Pls. VI and XII.

³ E.C., II, No. 59.



P. 238. Manastambha -- Pillar at Sravanabelgola.
(By courtesy of the Director of Archaeological Researches, Mysore)



The pavilion at the top of the
Brahmadeva Pillar at Sravanabelgola

*(By courtesy of the Director of Archaeological
Researches, Mysore)*

P. 288.



Tyagada
Brahmadeva Pillar

*(By courtesy of the
Director of Archaeological
Researches, Mysore)*

P. 238.

on a base beautified by figure sculpture and contains on the north side the inscriptions of Chaundaraya, giving a glowing account of his exploits, and on the south, figures of Chaundaraya flanked by chauri-bearers, and of his *Guru* Nemichandra. The shaft of the pillar is decorated with a graceful scroll of fine bell shaped flowers and beautiful flowering climbing shrub—the honeysuckle,—which gives striking resemblances to Asoka's pillars, especially the one at Allahabad which has a beautiful scroll of alternate lotus and honeysuckle.

(b) *Virakals*.—The Gangas developed a unique type of sculpture in virakals and decorative friezes in temples for which the Hoysalas later on became distinctively famous. The discovery of a sort of clay chlorite with a fine grained hardness, capable of taking a high polish and reflecting the effect of light and shade with wonderful appropriateness and thus enabling the artist to display the softness of the flesh by the deftness of the chisel stroke, completely revolutionised the art of sculpture after the tenth century. The sculptural representations of elephants with hanging necklaces and bent tusks, as on the *Kyathanahalli* stone inscription¹ and on the *Tayalur* stone, and on the *Atukur* stone

¹ E.C., III, Sr. No. 147.

of the time of Butuga, representing the boar hunt,¹ the fight between the hound and the boar with their tails turned up in anger and each warding off the blows of the other, are very natural, realistic and life-like. The *Dodda-hundi* stone depicting Nitimarga's death, the king resting on a double pillow attended by Agarayya, his family servant and his warrior son, Satyavakya in full panoply, is a good piece of elaborate interesting sculpture. The physical exhaustion of the king, the anguish of the son at his father's death and the ineffable joy of the *major domo* at his opportunity for self-sacrifice, are on the whole very vividly portrayed.² The *Begur* stone of the time of Ereyappa (890 A.D.) represents how in the spirited battle of Tumbe-padi, the chief Nagatara under Ereyappa's orders fought against Ayappa, the son of Mahendra and lost his life and made a triumphant ascent to the world of gods. There are three panels in it, as generally in the scenes of most *virakals* representing those in which the hero fell, his ascent to heaven borne along in a car surrounded by celestial nymphs, and his being seated in the immediate presence of divinity. The depiction of the foot soldiers in different

¹ E.C., III, I, Md. 14.

² E.C., III, I, Tn. 91 ; E.C., VI, No. 6.



Atukur Stone—Mandya

P. 239. (By courtesy of the Director of Archaeological Researches, Mysore)



Doddahundi Stone—Mysore

P. 240. (By courtesy of the Director of Archaeological Researches, Mysore)



attitudes and postures of striking, rising or falling, accoutred with all the implements of warfare and engaged in a very close sanguinary fight, and the representation of Nagatara, seated on a well-caparisoned steed and advancing along with other cavalry officers against the enemy, who is seated on a beautiful but agitated elephant, all reveal colour, movement and great animation.¹ This class of sculpture, though varied and ruder in execution than the representation of the scenes of warfare in epic poems on the temples, are unique in their own way since they illustrate scenes from life and the costumes, weapons and other features of the time in which they were erected.

(c) *Bettas*.—Like the bastis, the Ganga monuments are represented by bettas (literally hills) or courtyards open to the sky and containing the image of Gomatesvara who seems to have had a peculiar attraction to Jaina sculptors. These open courts are invariably surrounded by a corridor containing cells with Jaina images with, at some distance, a heavy wall. A good part of it as in Dodda Betta is picturesquely formed by natural boulders. The unfinished statue of *Bharatesvara* complete only to the knee with an inscription of about 900 A.D. and

¹ E.C., IX. Bg. 83.

the colossal statue of Gomata standing on the summit of Dodda Betta in simple human form without any support above the thighs are the most remarkable specimens of Ganga sculpture. Other Jaina works of this kind are found at Karkala and at Enur both in the district of South Canara, once a very important Jaina settlement. The Karkala statue, about 41 feet 5 inches high, was erected by Virapandya on the advice of his Guru *Lalitakirthi* of Hanasoge; Timmaraja in 1604 in consonance to the wishes of his spiritual adviser *Charukirthi* of Belgola erected the Enur statue which is about 35 feet high.

(d) *Gomata Image*.—Gomata otherwise known as Bhujabali, according to traditions the second son of Adinatha, after generously restoring the kingdom to his brother Bharata, retired to the forest for the practice of austerities and attained to great fame by his victory over *karma*. Bharata erected at Pandarapura a golden statue of his brother, 525 bow-lengths in height, known as *Kukkutesvara* or *Kukkuta-Jinesvara* which was worshipped by the gods but which soon became inaccessible to men, the region being infested with *Kukkuta sarpas* or cockatrices. Traditions vary with regard to the antiquity of the statue. Devachandra reports in his *Rajavalikathe* that Rama and Sita

brought it from Lanka and installed it on the hill at Sravanabelagola. The *Sthalapurana* and *Bhujabali Charitre* written by Panchabana, refer to the revelation of Gomata in the form of a stone image on the larger hill to Chaundaraya who consecrated it some time about 983 A.D. during the reign of his sovereign Rachamalla. An inscription of 1180 makes the clear statement that Chaundaraya, minister of Rachamalla, had the statue of Gomata made, and we have further synchronous records in Kannada, Tamil and Mahrashtra languages respectively engraved at the sides of the image itself stating the same fact. Chaundaraya does not mention the erection of the statue in the long account of his exploits and personal gallantry which he has recorded in his work *Chaundarayapurana* composed by himself in 978 A.D. and as such the Gomata image could not have been installed before that period. It must have been established and consecrated before 993 A.D. as the great Kannada poet Ratna, more popularly known as Ranna, refers in his *Ajita Purana* to a pilgrimage made by his patroness Attimabbe to Jinesvara¹ commonly known by its mythological name Kukkutesvara². No reference is

¹ E.C., II, 234, 335, 349.

² *Ajita Purana*, I, 61.

made in his work to Gomata which appellation it came to acquire probably later after Nemi-chandra's great work *Gomatasara*.

The face of Gomata is remarkable for its serene expression, the hair curled in short spiral ringlets all over the head while the ears are long and large. The figure is treated conventionally, the shoulders being broad, the arms hanging straight down the sides with the thumbs turned outwards. The image is represented with an attenuated waist, legs a little dwarfed below the knee, and with other anatomical details revealing an extreme simplicity of contour. Though not elegant, the image is not wanting in majestic and impressive splendour. The figure has no support above the thighs. The ant-hill with emerging serpents, the lower limbs and the climbing plant *madhavi* twining round both legs and arms and terminating at the upper part of the arm in a cluster of berries of fragrant white flowers, probably symbolize the complete absorption of the ideal ascetic in meditation and penance. The pedestal is designed to represent an open lotus and upon this the artist has worked a scale corresponding to three feet four inches which was probably used in laying out the work.¹ "It is probable that Gomata was cut out

¹ E.C., II, Pp. 10, 11.

of a boulder which rested on the spot: it is larger than any of the statues of Rameses in Egypt. It is carved in a fine grained light granite and has not been injured by weather or violence and looks as bright and clean as if just fashioned from the chisel of the artist. The face is its strong point considering the size of the head which, from the crown to the bottom of the ear, measures six feet six inches. The artist was skilful indeed to draw from the blank rock the wondrous contemplative expression touched with a faint smile with which Gomata gazes out on a struggling world."¹ A glance at the image impresses on one the idea that the artist seems to have meditated not on the "glory of the naked human form, nor the proud and conscious assertion of human personality, but on the heavenly model that leads us from ourselves into the universal life," while translating the sublime idea of man's victory over his *karma* into such a piece of ineffable art. Two Yakshas, Chauri-bearers, beautifully carved and richly ornamented, in royal marks, dress and crown and fruits in the left hands attend on Gomata. To the left of the enclosure, there is a *dvarapalaka* of imposing height and size with four hands with maces of different kinds in

¹ Werkman, *Through Town and Jungle*, 82-84.

three of his hands, while the left hand is in the *abhaya* pose. The *akhanda bagalu* or the doorway with a lintel beautifully carved with a seated figure of Lakshmi with flowers in her hands and elephants on either side bathing her, the Brahmadeva pillar with a pavilion at the top, and the figure of *gullakayajji* below it, were all caused to be made by Chaundaraya. The pillared hall in front of the image with elaborately carved ceilings containing figures of Indra and the *Asta Dikpalakas* was erected by Bala Deva in the early part of the twelfth century. The Jaina pantheon includes among many of the favourite Brahmanical divinities, Sarasvati and Lakshmi as the most prominent. Indra is as prominent in Jaina as in Buddha mythology and with his consort Indrani is frequently figured on the lower jambs of doorways of Jaina temples whilst larger figures of Yakshas and Yakshinis are represented as gods at the entrance of the shrines. The *navagrahas* or nine planets are frequently represented at the foot of the *asana* of the Jaina images as also the *Asta Dikpalakas*. It may also be observed that all the figures of Tirthankaras have a triple umbrella or *tiara* over their heads and are identically alike with the exception of snake crest over Suparsva and the right hand laid over the left in the lap with the palm upwards. All the Yak-

shas and Yakshinis have similar tapering head-dresses ; the Yakshas are naked to the navel and the Yakshinis are more fully clad, and all sit in the *lalita mudra* or with one foot down and the other tucked up in front ; all hold the front right hand up before the breast open with the palm outwards (*varadahasta*).¹ These features as well as conventionalised representations of *Omkara*, *Hrimkara*, etc., are prominent in all the Jaina temples of the Ganga period.

¹ I. A., XXXII, P. 463.

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL LIFE

THERE are very few epigraphical records which
Educational testify to the existence of a ladder
Aims. of education and graduated course
of instruction in Ganga society. There was no
one system of education. There were in vogue
different courses of study sufficiently broad and
elastic as to accommodate varied requirements
of students. Worldly success or an insatiable
thirst for knowledge, and in some cases a desire
to attain spiritual insight were the objects
sought after in educational life.

Neither logical consistency nor perfect symmetry nor comprehensiveness characterised the educational system. Spontaneity was its keynote. Its varied forms, its uneven progress, its lack of symmetry, were all due to the fact that it sprang unbidden and unforced from the needs and aspirations of the people. It was one of local preference and individual initiative and royal patronage was applied only to stimulate and encourage local interest in education and to avoid the deadening routine of mechanical uniformity.

At the lower stage, the village and town

schools were an integral part of an organised system of popular education. There was the normal type under which the teacher as a settled householder admitted to his institution, pupils of tender age and retained them as wholtime inmates of his house and imparted learning under regular system of rules in an atmosphere of rigorous discipline governing the entire life of the pupil. Along with these settled homes of learning were the academies like *Vidya Pithas*, *Mathas*, *Agraharas* and *Ghaticas* which specialised in higher branches of study both secular and religious, and constituted the highest type of a number of competing social and educational institutions which ministered to the moral and spiritual wants of students. Academic meetings for purposes of philosophical discussion, fluctuating bodies of peripatetic scholars wandering through the country in quest of knowledge, and national gatherings and congresses in which representative thinkers of various schools met and exchanged views, were other powerful agencies intended for the propagation of culture and thought.

The initiation of a pupil into the school was symbolical of his consecration to service and the cultivation of a life of righteousness. The complete and harmonious development of the human body and soul in their strength and beauty,

the perfect and full yet regulated enjoyment of earthly life, in its social as well as individual form, the broadening and strengthening of human sympathies, the cultivation of power to find joy and delight in all that is noble, beautiful and true, and above all the attainment of spiritual happiness,—these seem to have been the fundamental ideals which governed the Aryan educational system. This objective alone constituted the greatest function and final safeguard of society.

It must be conceded that premium was placed more upon beauty and perfection of soul in wisdom, fortitude, temperance and justice than on power and vigour of personality. Elementary and popular education comprised the art of writing, prayers, learning grammar, distinguishing meanings of words, their classifications and distinctions, arithmetic, sciences as mechanical arts, of astrology, prosody and metre, the science of reasoning by which the orthodox and the heterodox and the true and the false could be thoroughly appraised and evaluated, as well as the sciences of the inner life devoted to the investigation of the paths of religious attainment.¹ Narasimha

¹ Beal. Yuan Chwang, VII. 78-79; Watters, VI, 154-155.

There is a reference to a similar course of study in the work of great Kannada poet Pampa of the 10th century.

Deva the eldest son of Nitimarga was learned in the science of politics, of elephants, archery, grammar, medicine, *bharathasastra*, poetry, *itihasa*, dancing, singing, and instrumental music.¹ Military arts, legends, history, dharma and arthasastras, music, and dancing were some of the subjects which even royal pupils learnt and practised. They were expected to be perfect in the four tests of character, as loyalty, disinterestedness, continence and courage.² The art of dancing and music enjoyed a peculiarly favourable place in the curricula of studies in so far as the princes and women often entertained the court with artistic skill and deftness of graceful movement without being in the least apprehensive of their exalted position and reputation being in jeopardy.

Intensive specialisation in any branch of knowledge was not always aimed at as it was thought to develop a narrowness of mind, the natural concomitant of concentration on one branch of study to the exclusion of every other. The attention of the pupils was made to sweep over a large and comprehensive vista of knowledge, cosmopolitan in character and even inclusive of such unusual subjects as the know-

¹ E. C. XII, Ng. 269.

² E. C. V. Bl. 17.

ledge of the significance of cries of animals and birds, decoration, pantomine and masquerade. It was a matter of the greatest discomfiture for the princes to be ignorant of sciences and arts which were of considerable utility in the understanding of men and society and interstate diplomacy. Inscriptions are too fulsome in their adulations of kings who were proficient in sastras and languages and who earned great esteem as poets or authors of treatises on such subjects as the arts of elephant management, archery and social psychology.¹

The system was evidently a mixture of vocational and classical training. The earlier training as we learn from the inscriptions and contemporary writers was essentially secular, and children of ordinary men whether of Jaina or brahmanical persuasion, probably, went through a course of secular studies before they parted ways in metaphysics. Government and the educational system decreed the equality of right under the law and not equality of result. It opened the door of opportunity to all and took from no man the fruit of his energy and endurance, knowledge, skill, patience and thrift, to repair the just consequences of another man's in-

¹ E. C. Ak. 8-14.

competence and worthlessness. It recognised wide differences in the circumstances, the work and the outlook of the people, and distinguished between the kinds of learning which were best suited to differing and inevitable conditions of life. It thus gave as much prominence and honour to manual skill as to intellectual occupation.

Probably, the country stood for a balanced educational system, the best and the broadest that could be made, and therefore, good enough for all wherein the individual found what he wanted and could if he liked go as high in the education ladder as he wanted. It was not a system wherein undue prominence was given to any particular interest which aided any one as against any other. The tendency was towards imparting of a liberal education, and there are many inscriptional evidences which bear out the fact that such an education being given to princes and children of other classes and technical education to those who desired proficiency in the several mechanical arts, as metal work, sculpture and the like, which were thought to be of very great importance to the body politic. Since the time Gangavadi was a viceroyalty of Satavahanas, there was a great advance of industrial education, and public and private patronage had

induced an intensive specialisation in industrial arts, and handicrafts.

The most highly organised and efficient of the industrial classes were Virapanchalas comprising of goldsmiths, (*akkasaliga*) coiners (*kammada acharigal*) blacksmiths (*kammara*) carpenters and masons. The five hundred Svamins of Ayyavale¹ *Vira Banagigas*, *Gavaras*, *Settiguttas*, *Ankakararas*, the *manigaras*, *telligar*, (oil-man) *Chippiga-gothaligal* (tailor) constituted other important trading communities of the country. The social status of these artists, craftsmen, and traders was not low as it became afterwards. In the finest period of Indian art, particularly between the eighth and ninth centuries when the national culture found expression as completely in art as in literature, these claimed and enjoyed a high social status in the community equal to the Brahmins.

The art of engraving and sculpture attained a high stage of development in the time of the Gangas and were exclusively cultivated by the Panchalas who wore the sacred thread and considered themselves as *Visvakarma Brahmanas*. Their class title was usually *Achari*, but in most of the inscriptions of the Ganga period the

¹ Sk. 118.

term *Oja* or *ojjha* and sometimes *Srimat*¹ is used, signifying a guru, or Acharya, Bidigoja probably one of the sculptors of the Gomata image, Madhurovajha of the time of Raja Malla I about 828 A.D. and others, with various titles as *Biruda-ruvari*, *Gondala Badiva*, *Mach-chariparuvarigala Ganda*, *Ruravari*, *Giri-Vagradanda*, all seemed to have enjoyed great influence in the community. The craftsmen being deeply versed in national epic literature always figured in the history of India as missionaries of civilisation, culture and religion.² Their intellectual influence being creative and not merely assimilative, was at least as great as that of the priests and authors.

The fundamental feature of technical training consisted in the fact that the young craftsman was brought up and educated in the actual workshop of his master, serving him as his disciple, even though he happened to be his son. In the workshop he stood in the peculiar relation of a disciple whose life was consecrated by devoted personal service and sacred attachment to his master. This created an atmosphere in which alone, one could best imbibe and spontaneously assimilate the excellences of his master, and the essential secrets of his trade. The

¹ E. C. II SB. 21.

² Havell. *Indian Sculpture and Painting*. I. 183.

workshop of the craftsman was always recognised as a sacred mystery, as a sacrament than as a secular trade. This religious conception of his craft combined with thorough technical training which gave him a detailed knowledge and skill in the intricacies of his art, was calculated in producing a master craftsman. The latter in his turn preserved and transmitted to posterity the artistic and technical excellences of his trade richly consolidated by his own personal contribution.

In the admission of an apprentice to the trade, the barriers between occupations were not so fixed and rigid as those between castes. The work, and the immunity his art had from exploitation for profit, and cut throat competition, and above all the "spiritual conception of the serious purpose of art, encouraged him to give to his work that contentment of mind and leisure and pride and pleasure for its own sake essential to all artistic excellence."

The institutions that disseminated higher instruction in several departments of human knowledge were the *Ghatikas*, *Agraharas*, *Brahmapuris*, *Mathas*, temples and *Bhatta Vrittis*. Though references describing the nature of *Ghatikas* are inadequate, from the Kadamba sovereign Mayura Sarman's allusion, it can be made out to be

University
Education.
Ghatikas.

an institution of the highest learning, where the pupils and scholars obtained the highest knowledge in religious and secular literature.¹ They were probably institutions intended for discussions and religious disputations, like the conferences convened by kings in whose presence learned discussions on philosophical questions between the professors of different doctrines were held. The Indo-Aryan mind was trained to recognise the supremacy of logic to that of tacit acceptance of dogma. Consequently the art of logical refutation of an opponent's position was regarded as of great importance. Owing to the popularity of this ancient custom, scholars and founders of new theories repaired to these institutions for the propagation of the truths of doctrines they professed. The member who distinguished himself in the discussion was known as *Ghatika Sahasa* as is revealed in the Hulgere plates of Sivamara in which a reference is made to a *Ghatika Sahasaya Madhava Surmane*.² These *Ghatikas*, as can be gauged from references to the participation of Samantabhadra, Pujiyapada and others in the disputations held in the *Ghatika* at Kanchi were inter-provincial in cha-

¹ E. C. VII Sk. 94, 176, 197; E. C. III Md. 113. V. Cn 178.

² M.A.R. 1910. Para 115.

racter like the Tamil *Sangham* and attracted students from all parts of the country. The reputation that followed a successful disputant in these assemblies was so high that it was an inducement to all scholars to persevere in their studies especially in the abstruse and subtle doctrines of religion and metaphysics, and keep up a high standard of intellectual attainment, with the object of winning victory in the assembly of learned men. This custom, seems to have reacted powerfully on the educational atmosphere of the country.

Associated with these early educational institutions were the monasteries and *Chaityalayas* mostly of Jaina persuasion, which attempted the dissemination of their religious doctrines among the masses. The great Jaina monastery at Patalika (in South Arcot district) existing in a very flourishing condition in the 7th century A.D. and *Chaityalayas* at Perur,¹ Manne and Talkad and other places of importance were of this type. They acted as powerful levers in stimulating thought and promoting learning and literacy among the people. The great mission of the Jaina Sangha was ethical and was expressed in the ideas of obedience, charity and poverty.

Early Jaina
Mathas.

¹ M.A.R. 1914. Para 56.

Monasticism arose from a protest against vice and corruption that prevailed in society and pointed the way to a deeper religion and nobler life. The confusion and distress that followed the dismemberment of the Andhra Empire, and the inroads of foreigners to the country, naturally made life so unsafe and burdensome as to drive large numbers of men and women to the cloister to occupy themselves with the world to come. More powerful than these extraneous causes that led to a life of monasticism was the predilection of the Aryan mind to mysticism which furnished the foundation for the monkish world-fleeing view of life, the distinguishing feature of the early Middle ages. Mysticism satisfied emotional cravings which found no satisfaction in the cold, austere and arid abstractions of Buddhism. An intense, ecstatic feeling, deliberately induced, often became an object in itself. In their mysteries, if they did not teach a higher morality they raised the worshipper above the level of old conventional conformity and satisfied in some way his longing for communion with the Supreme Being and assurance of life beyond.

Mysticism devoted to a life of contemplation and devout communion, appeared when religion began to harden into formulae and ceremonial. It constituted a reaction of spirit against letter,

and like monasticism arose as a revolt against vice and corruption and growing secularisation of religious institutions, and primarily to satisfy the immediate demand for religious experience. The mysticism of the period taught a belief in the three aspects of the soul, Physiological, Psychological and Spiritual, and that the highest could be obtained only by withdrawal from the world of activity and sensation to that of pure thought or pure existence. The discipline consisted in the gradual purification of body and mind by divesting the mind of all sense impressions of the outside world and filling it with thoughts of spiritual life. Dialectics and logical gymnastics came to be used to strengthen the mind for mystic contemplation, and in the later Middle ages, scholasticism came to reduce to rational form the prevailing mysticism and to draw out static contemplation into dynamic reasoning, and offer a rational justification of truths revealed in the mystic state of ecstasy.

From the early centuries of the christian era mysticism and scholasticism co-existed in the country, for the tendency among monks and mystics was to turn to ancient authorities and to reach truth by their study, interpretation and reconciliation (*Samanvaya*) of rival texts. The method that was adopted by all religious dis-

putants and theorists was scholastic. It consisted in citing all known authorities on both sides of a given problem, then draw an orthodox conclusion and then by a variety of distinctions and devices to show how each authority could be reconciled with its conclusion. It assured that all truth was to be found in authorities and that when properly interpreted, they were in agreement. Though this led to mere abstractions, indulgence in over-subtle distinctions and verbal quibbles, it was useful in making the confused mass of traditional and irrational doctrines, systematic and rational and scientific, and bring a tremendous intellectual activity to bear on monastic and episcopal institutions and on the higher life of society. This tended to produce subtle and acute minds blazing their way through the tangle of difficult texts. The result was that every prejudice was changed to light, every confusion unravelled, every error convicted, and the shame of ignorance intensified, and love of truth kindled into a passion.

The employment of dialectics in disputations and discussions had the most
Agraharas. wholesome effect on thought in so far as it tended to turn the attention of the pupils from ritualism and devotion to logic and speculation. It corrected the narrow sectaria-

nism and bigotry incidental to such institutions as Mathas and temples. The various educational agencies attempted to keep alive the interest of the people in the several branches of secular and religious knowledge by considering religious, traditional and inherited cultures. The *Agrahara* consisting of learned brahmins was one of this type which attracted large bodies of students into its academic atmosphere. It was usually situated at some distance from the cities far away from the restlessness and agitation of the world, in villages where the unobstrusive influences of earth and sky combined with green foliage, water, fields, the songs of birds and fresh breeze of heaven, would pass imperceptibly and unsought into the soul, or sweep gradual gospels in. Though the nucleus of a small school sometimes expanded itself into that of an *Agrahara*, the majority of them were invariably state foundations given as gifts by the royal donors or governors for the acquisition of merit and for the promotion of learning and education. The land that was endowed was divided among the brahmin families and the rest was constituted as an endowment for maintaining the different departments of study and conducting religious service in the temple attached to the *Agrahara*. The grants of land, gardens, and money made subsequent to the foundation of

the *Agraharas* were consolidated with the original fund which enabled the authorities, with the interest accruing from the augmented funds, to expand courses of study, build rest houses, establishments for maintaining poor students, housing pilgrims and wandering scholars. The income being thus assured, the brahmins were naturally devoted, or dedicated to study and imparting of instruction thus making the *Agrahara* a centre of learning and a university. Sometimes *Mathas* were founded in the *Agraharas* of other denominations with heavy endowments enjoying immunity from taxation and official jurisdiction.¹

The endowments came probably under the direct authority of the brahmins who formed a corporate body, and controlled the properties and administered the affairs of the *Agrahara*.² The assembly of the brahmins exercised civil and municipal duties as well as that of organising celebration of plays, entertainments of visitors and scholars, and arrangements of disputations, exposition and interpretation of new and conflicting doctrines by the learned. Sanitation, construction and repairing of roads, organisation and distribution of charities were other

¹ E. C. VIII Sk. 29.

² E. C. IX 127-132.

types of work which devolved on the shoulders of the *Mahajanas*. They, in consonance with the practice of the age trained themselves in military exercises and constituted themselves as leaders in battle whenever their *Agraharas* were threatened by invasion¹ or raids by the aboriginal tribes. The *Mahajanas* were perfect in *Yama*, *Niyama*, *Bhajana*, *Dharana*, *Japa*, *Manana*, *Svadhyaya* and *Samadhi* and proficient in Rig-Yagus-Sama and Atharva Vedas, the *Vedangas* the eighteen puranas and *Smritis*, in music, dialectic, *Kamasastras*, *Natakas* and *Alankaras* (rhetoric). They were acquainted with languages of Karnataka, Lata, Dramila and other countries and all their written characters (*lipi*).² They delighted in offering food, medicine and asylum to those who sought their protection.³ They performed punctiliously the duties assigned to them by law, of which receiving of gifts and officiating as priests were the primary ones.

A vivid description of the educational life in an *Agrahara* is given in one of the inscriptions of the twelfth century. "In some streets were brahmins reading the Vedas, *sastras* and six systems, of *tarka*; in some were mantapas in-

¹ E. C. VII. Sk. 293.

² Ak. 130. Ag. 99.

³ E. C. VIII Sb. 253.

tended as theatres for new shows; in some temples were groups of brahmins either reading the Veda or all at once listening to some higher science, or unceasingly carrying on discussions in logic or joyously reciting *puranas* or settling the meaning of all manner of *Smriti*, drama and poetry. To studying, teaching, listening to good precepts and the rule of their faith were the brahmins devoted."

Unlike the *Agraharas*, the *Brahmapuris* were simply settlements of brahmins in cities and towns devoted to dissemination of learning. It was not a corporate body enjoying rights and privileges and possessing property like the *Agraharas*, though the Brahmins had *Vrittis* for their maintenance. Talkad and Manyapura had *Brahmapuris* which were increased in number in later times under the patronage of the Hoysalas.

The *Mathas* that were in existence for a long time were residential colleges housing monks, ascetics and students who were not only provided with instruction but food and clothing free of charge. The poor, infirm and the destitute found free boarding and lodging in the *Matha*, whether founded by kings, chieftains or by Gurus of great education and scholarship. The *Mathas* were pioneers in education. The scholastic attainments of the preceptors were prodigious.

gious in so far as the inscriptions record their proficiency in *Jainism*, *Buddhism*, *Tarka*, *Kavya*, *Vyakarana*, *Nataka*, *Bharathasastra* and other sciences. The *Acharyas* of Maleyur were spoken of as uprooters of *Mimamsakas*, *Tathaghatas* and *Sankhyas*.

The last two centuries of Ganga rule were days of passionate emotion and highly strung enthusiasm. Never had the souls of men been so deeply stirred by the ideas of raising the whole existence of mankind to a higher level. It was a case of regenerating the whole people, apparently doomed beyond redemption by the spread of the nihilistic doctrines of Buddhism, by regulating it from within from the inmost depths of its nature. Sankara carried on his relentless crusades against them and founded Mathas in Sringeri, Kumbhakonam, and other centres. The Alvars, Nayanmars, and other theists found the way of devotion as the best and the only means of expressing the deep seated religious instincts of the masses than resort to the dry agnostic philosophy of Buddhism, or the arid metaphysics of Hinduism, too cold and austere to satisfy the passionate and emotional nature of the people. All the activities that had been called into life by the age that was passing away, were seized, concentrated and steadied to a definite aim by

Saiva
Mathas.

the spirit of religion. Life as a result gained in moral grandeur, in the sense of the dignity of manhood, in orderliness and equable force. Mathas and monasteries arose in all parts of the country with a view to propagate the new impulse, and became gradually great centres of learning, of which the Kalamukha Mathas were prominent.

The Kalamukha priests who were attached to the Mathas and monasteries were great educationists. They were probably followers of the *Bhakti* cult as they observed exercises such as lying upon sand, muttering holy words, devotional perambulations, dancing and singing and thus worked themselves to a state of psychical exaltation and religious ecstasy.¹ They are described in one of the inscriptions as "*Sishya Chataka Varshakala mukhar*," indicating thereby that they were in great demand by the student body. Their names usually ended in *Rasi*, *Sakti* and *Abharana*. There were both married men and brahmacharins possessing the eight attributes of Yoga, Yama, Niyama and Dharana, etc. The celibate priests were held in greater esteem than their married brothers. They were not only the heads of Mathas and the monasteries in Mysore but also of the residen-

¹ *Sarvadarshanasaugraha*, Tr. Cowell and Gough, P. 105-6.

tial colleges that were associated with them. By the force of their dynamic personality and great scholarship in the Vedas, Vedangas, Kavya, nataka, Bharata sastra, and other sciences, they attracted students of different ages and degrees of culture from all parts of the country. During Hoysala sovereignty when their influence was considerable they were styled as "*Rajaguru*" As pontiffs of Kedareshvara, Panchalingesvara, and Nandikesvara and Kusumesvara and other temples, they were the recipients of great patronage of governors and kings. The Rashtrakuta king Govinda III in 807 A.D. made a grant to Isvara Dasa, a disciple of Kalasakti and head of the matha in the temple of Nandi.

Netra Sivacharya, disciple of Sakari Bhattarakha "a moon in the firmament of pure Saivism" received for the renovation of Siva temple at Alur in Nirgunda *Vishaya* a similar grant with exemption from all imposts from Vijayaditya Ranavikrama. Though the Kalamukha mathas were pre-eminently religious institutions, from the comprehensive scheme of studies accepted and taught by them, the distinction which some priests claimed in grammar and literature one can see that secular learning also was imparted in them. The curriculum of studies included among others, grammar, Darshanas, Lakula Siddanta, Yoga and Dharmasastras, puranas,

poems, comedies, polity, logic, music and painting.

The method of teaching in these universities was oral. It was meant to direct the disciples to mental activity rather than to instruct them in dogma. Education that was imparted in them was not merely one of development of intellectual skill but a growth in self-consciousness, in the power of right judgment and character depending upon an intimate knowledge of the phenomenon of life and nature and capable of being developed by use and extended by experience. Jainism, the dominant religion of the country like Buddhism emphasised the use of the vernacular as the medium of instruction. Illustrations by allegories, parables and stories were pressed into service in vivifying knowledge. Stress was laid on example rather than on precept, thus making it imperative for students to transmute their learning to action. The most potent factor in the system more potent than even the corporate influence of the community was the personality of the Guru who touched the deeper springs of the student-being by personal example, resting upon a clear ideal and easy method of approach, which the disciple could follow, by sympathy, moral insight, sense of justice, candour of heart, self

Method of
Teaching.

discipline, consistency of conduct, and a reverential attitude of mind. The staging of plays, amusements and recreations which the Mahajanas organised for the benefit of the student body, as well as the healthy open air life, the pleasurable sensation of growth, all formed a solid foundation to the joys of existence. The student's career was not merely a *pis aller* but a vocation, a life work in the highest sense. The *Agrahara* or *Ghatika* was not merely an academy where students gathered for study, but a temple where the transcendental duties of the individual to his fellow citizens and to the state were offered. Such great mediæval universities gradually fell into desuetude and were rendered powerless by loss of income, moral inertness, by their antagonism to the deep religious convictions of the people, and blind hostility to the new intellectual movements that later stirred the country.

From very early times, sanskrit and prakrit languages were extensively cultivated. The prevalence of Brahmanical religion from about the beginning of the first century A.D., bears testimony to the currency of secular and brahmanical literature in Gangavadi. Along with literary activities in sanskrit, prakrit also seems to have been extensively used in the country as can be gleaned

Literature.

from the Asokan inscription, and the coins in prakrit of the Satavahana and Kadamba kings. The Malavalli stone inscription, and Sivaskanda Varman's grant to brahmins are additional testimony, bearing out the same fact. From the beginning of the first century practically till the close of the eleventh century Prakrit was generally adapted by both the Jains and Brahmins for literary purposes, as can be seen from the treatise on Jain cosmography, referred to in the Lokavibhaga, *Anupreksha* by Kundakunda Acharya and several prakrit works by Tumbalur Acharya and others. Partly sectarian motives and partly a zeal to spread culture and thought might have induced the Jains to use prakrit and the vernaculars predominantly in instruction for promoting their religious tenets.

The Jain Acharyas, as can be inferred from the inscriptions and extant works, were also the greatest cultivators of sanskrit. Samantabhadra and Pujiyapada wrote several sanskrit works which were well known and commented upon by Kannada writers of a later period. *Sabdavatara*, a sanskrit grammar also known as *Anekasesha Vyakarana*, *Sarvarthasiddhi*, a philosophical work, *Jainabhiseka*, a treatise on poetics and prosody and *Samadhisataka* were some of the works which are attributed to Pujiyapada. Though the sanskrit version of the

Ramayana and the Mahabharata were current in the time of Madhava Varma as testified to by a copper plate inscription of the 4th century A.D. one Ravisena Acharya who, probably, flourished in the 7th century A.D. wrote *Padma Charite* or *Maharamayana*, comprehensive of all the current versions of the story of Rama.

During the seventh and the eighth centuries due to the persecution of the Jains in the South, a large number of Jains came and settled in Gangavadi, and there was an indirect stimulus for the development of Jaina literature, and thought under Ganga patronage. It was during this period, on the strength of the Jain population and the patronage given by the Rashtrakuta and Ganga kings, the Jain Acharyas made peregrinations to Kanchi, and other Buddhist and Saiva centres, and there challenged the exponents of its rival doctrines to disputation. A vivification of Jaina thought was attempted by several Acharyas in the writing of commentaries or *sutras* on old Jaina works. Akalanka, the celebrated Jaina philosopher who conquered the Buddhists at Kanchi wrote *Asta-sakti*, a commentary on Samantabhadra's *Apta Mimamsa*. Works as *Uttara Purana* by Gunabhadra, *Kalyana Karaka*, work on medicine by Ugraditya and several others on different branches of human knowledge, were written by the

Jains. Some of the Ganga kings like the Jain Acharyas are mentioned in inscriptions as eminent in wisdom and scholarship in religious and secular literature. Madhava II was a touch stone for testing the learned and the poets, good in Nitisastra and author of a *Vritti* on *Dattaka-sutra* or Aphorisms of Dattaka, who probably, lived in the 1st century A.D. prior to Vatsayana. Durvinita, one of the greatest kings of the 7th century wrote a commentary on Panini and on the 15th *Sarga* of Kiratarjuneya of Bharavi.

Of the several Dravidian languages, Kannada, language of Karnataka, like Tamil is of great antiquity. From the inscriptions and references in the works of poets of the 9th and 10th centuries to *Halekannada* and the beautiful style in which the inscriptions of the time of Sripurusha and others are engraved on stone, or copper plates, it is obvious that *Purvada Halekannada* or primitive old Kannada, probably the language of Banavasi, was widely cultivated prior to the period of the great poets. The period of the *Purvada Halekannada* might have terminated about the end of the 7th century, while *Halekannada* began about the 8th century and was extended nearly as long as the 14th century. Samantabhadra, Kaviparamesti, and Pujyapada or Devanandi are mentioned by Pampa

and other poets as the most distinguished of the early Kannada authors. Samantabhadra was the author of *Bhasha Manjari*, *Chintamani Tippanni* and several other works. Srivardha Deva, also called Tumbalur Acharya, was the author of *Chudamani*, and this has been praised as one of the greatest works in the Kannada language by Bhatta Kalanka in his *Karnataka Sabdanushasanam*. He was also the author of works on *Sabdagama*, *Yuktyagama*, and *Paramagama*, as well as on poetry, drama, rhetoric and the fine arts. A work like *Chudamani* which had the eulogistic testimony of the great poet Dandin who flourished at the close of the 7th century, could not have been produced had there not already pre-existed a considerable literature in Kannada and a wide spread cultivation of the language.¹ The great Rashtrakuta king, Amoghavarsha or Nripatunga who ruled between 814 to 867 A.D. mentions in his *Kavirajamarga* the names of great poets as Vimala, Udaya, Nagarjuna, Jayabhandu, Durvinita, and others who acquired great fame in the world of rhythmic prose. Of the old poets (*Purvada Kavigal*), who wrote poems in Kannada, Srivijaya, Kavisvara, Pandita, Chandra, Lokapala were remarkable for their great excel-

¹ E. C. II. No. 50.

lence in style and comprehensiveness of the subject of poetry.

Between the ninth and the tenth centuries, the moral conceptions of the time, the exaltation of the sense of human brotherhood, and longing after a higher and a nobler standard of life and action, hatred of oppression, and a desire to inculcate the doctrine of *Ahimsa* and *Syadvada* and love for one's own language, culture and thought were expressed by a crowd of writers with such fire and eloquence as to carry them to the heart of the people. The centre of literary activity was Gangavadi and Kisuvolal Kopana, Puligere and Omkunda, and the language attracted the special attention of the scholars to its systematic study and culture. Several poets and scholars strove in the true spirit of scholarship to outvie one another in embellishing their native language and purging it from the admixture of foreign elements. A knowledge of *Sakkadam*, considered to be a *tadbhava* formed from the word *Sanskrita* was deemed to be the necessary mark of a scholar, though the best poets always used it apart from the local vernacular. From statements of Nagavarma and other great poets it is obvious that Kannada was not dependant for purposes of composition on sanskrit, for the standard poets always ridiculed "the mongrel productions of

those who could not write in Kannada without a resort to Sanskrit, condemning the practice, as the mark of an imperfect education, and advocating purism in the separate use of the two languages."¹

The use of classical sanskrit words in their unaltered form whenever desired, and the *tad-bhava* to suit the language of the people, strict adherence to the use of tense and cases and the rule of syntax, pleasing euphonic junction of letters, and intermixing poetry with passages in prose commonly known as *Champu* were some of the characteristics of the literature of the period. Several types of Kannada as *Olu-gannada*, *Belugannada*, *Achchakannada*, probably, derivatives from sanskrit seem to have prevailed in the Ganga country along with other local dialects.²

The greatest poets of this period Nagavarma, Pampa, Ponna, Asaga, Chaundaraya, Ranna, and others were all invariably *Ubhayabhasha Chakravartins* with an expert knowledge of

¹ Palegannadadapadangle

Kole-sakkadamam Tagulchidam edam uttum

Malesam god ant ire pe

Wali-gavigala kavite budharan erdeg olisugume.

—Nagavarma's verse quoted by Kesaraja.

² Olu-gannada belugannada

Telu-gannadavachcha-gannadam sakkajamum

Ele-gannada hale-gannada

Sale-desiyak-ene-y-ad-unte kannadak fleyol.

—J. R. A. S. XXII. P. 246.

sanskrit, prakrit and the local languages. The earliest poet of this period was probably Gunavarma, the author of *Harivamsa*, and other works, and a contemporary of the Ganga king Yeriappa who ruled between 886-913 A.D. Asaga named by Ponna and Kesiraja was probably the author of *Vardhamanasvami Kavya*.¹ Among the galaxy of great poets of the period, Pampa, variously known as *Kavitagunarnava*, *Guruhampa*, *Puranakavi*, *Sujanottamsa*, *Hamsaraja*, stands pre-eminent. Pampa was born in 902 A.D. and was descended from a brahmin from the Vengi country. Abhiramadevaraya, his father was a resident of Vikramapura, one of the Agraharas in Vengi, and from conviction became a Jaina. Pampa's patron was Arikesari, a prince of the Chalukya family ruling over one and one-fourth lakh country called Jola. With the pious determination to essay for the good of the world, Pampa, the devout Jaina, accomplished in an incredibly short time of three months and six months, the remarkable feat of completing *Adipurana* and *Vikramarjunavijaya* or *Pampa Bharata*. *Laghupurana*, *Parsvanathapurana* and *Paramarga* are some of the other works that are attributed to him.

¹ J. R. A. S. XV. P. 300.

Honna, Ponniga, Santivarma, Savana and by such other names Ponna is referred to in literature, and he was Pampa's great contemporary, and was the author of Santipurana which he himself styles as *Puranachudamani*. For his superiority over all other poets, in command of both Kannada and Sakkada, in the *Akkaradarajya* or the realm of letters, he received the title of *Ubhaya Kavichakravarti*, from the Rashtrakuta king Krishna who was also known as Nirupana and Akalavarsha. Chaundaraya the patron of Ranna was the author of *Chaundarayapurana*.

Of the poets of the latter half of the 10th century, Ranna mentioned as *Kaviratna*, *Abhinava Kavichakravarti* and by other appellations has been considered to be the greatest of the Kannada poets. He was of the *Valegara kula* that of the bangle sellers and was born in 940 A.D., in Mudavalalu, a village of the Jambhukhandi 70, in the Beligere 500. His mother was Abalabbe. His father was Janavallabhendra. Ajitasenacharya was his guru and his lord was Chaundaraya. He was the author of *Gadhayudda* and *Ajitpurana*, and the latter he styles as *Puranatilaka* comparable with *Adipurana* and *Santipurana* of Pampa and Ponna. *Gadayuddha* and *Ajitapurana* were probably written between 983 and 998 A.D. An emperor in the

empire of poetry, he was honoured by Taila II as well as by Samantas and Mandalikas. He received a *Madanavatara*, a parasol, Chowri, elephant and a Bhattagave and the title of Kavichakravarti from the emperor. He was well versed in both grammars *Jinendra* and *Sabdanusasana*. He says that Pampa, author of *Adipurana*, and Ponna, author of *Santipurana*, and himself constituted the three jewels that illuminated the Jaina religion. While praising Atimabbe, his patroness, as a *Danachintamani* in a number of verses, he incidentally refers to Butuga, Marasimha, Sankaraganda, probably of the Challaketana family and feudatory of Amoghavarsha, and Chaundaraya, as being justly honoured for their great liberality and patronage they extended to men of letters. A Kesidandanayaka, known as Brahma, apparantly a great literary character is also refered to by him as having revised his poem.¹

Nemichandra, author of *Kaviraja Kunjara*, and *Lilavati*, a Sringara Kavya, with poetry of a high order was the great contemporary of Ranna and also the tutor of Taila.² Nagavarma the author of *Chudamani* lived during the reign of Rakkasa Ganga and was patronised

¹ Indian Antiquary XI. 41.

² J. R. A. S. XV. P. 305.

by Chaundaraya.¹ His guru was Ajitasena-deva likewise the guru of the poet Ranna. All the poets who belonged to the close of the tenth century were remarkable for their scholarship, knowledge of languages and sublimity of sentiment. In the works particularly of Pampa and Ranna are noticeable a certain tragic grandeur, classic severity, facility and grace of expression, delicacy of phrase, symmetry, regularity in arrangement of sentences and range over every quality of poetic excellence.

From what is mentioned in Kavirajamarga and in the statements of Pampa
 The People. that his works were read by all classes, one is tempted to infer that the people of Gangavadi referred to by even the Jain Acharyas as *bhavyajanas* were passionately fond of learning, well-instructed and paid respect to moral and intellectual eminence.² The

¹ Karnataka Kavyavalokana; P. 3. Revised edition.

² Padan aridu nudiyalum nudi
 dudan arid arayalum arpar a nadavargal

.....
 Kuritavar allade mattam

.....
 Kiru-vakkal ma mugar

Maripalk arivar vivekamam matugalam.

Apt are the people of that land in speaking as if accustomed to verse and in understanding it when spoken, clever in truth are they, for they are ripely skilled in the usages of poetry without

education and enlightenment of the masses, were accomplished by various cultural agencies, as recitations of ballads scenic representations of the epics and Puranas, periodic lectures, and special festivities and *Kathas* which inculcated high ethical and philosophic ideals. Great educational work also was done by Sadhus who recognised no political barriers nor any distinctions of race. They were deeply versed in antique wisdom and possessed the culture accumulated by constant travel, and were content to live a life of poverty, in spite of sometimes belonging to wealthy families. The people were courteous, pleasant of speech, truthful, just, tolerant, generous, and hospitable, and great votaries of love and wealth.

The majority of the population being agricultural, lived, assembled in villages, with the one all absorbing occupation of going to the field for labour and returning with cattle home at night. It is probable that villages varied very much in different parts of the country, some open, and others

Guilds.

giving themselves up to its study. Not only students but others are skilful in their speech; and know how to teach both wisdom to young children and words to the deaf. To compose at will in Sanskrit or Prakrit may be done and in conformity with the old canons which is the aim and mark of the able.

—Nripatunga Kavirajamarga.

fairly well fortified with walls and defences to restrict the aggressions of hostile enemies, of the midnight marauders who came to steal cattle. Each village had its annual fairs and festivals, and temples and houses for lodging strangers, pilgrims or religious mendicants. The condition of the country people, could not have been prosperous as they had to contribute by way of taxes and perquisites a large part of their income to the royal treasury, government officers or local religious institutions. The towns too were walled and rendered impregnable by moats, bastions and other devices. Many of them teemed with a large population, the insecurity of life and property making the growth of such fortified towns under the strong protecting hand of a governor, or a king imperative. The guilds were important organs of the municipal government of the towns. The most powerful of these guild organisation was that of the Vira Panchalas consisting of goldsmiths, coiners, blacksmiths, carpenters and masons.

These guilds had numerous branches in the country which followed the rules, regulations concerning wages and succession to property, determined by the central body in the capital. They too, like the oilmen, potters and tailors who constituted themselves into separate

guilds for industrial purposes and observed Samaya Dharma (caste piety), paid professional taxes. The numerous trading guilds or communities that are spoken of in inscriptions, bear witness to the rich trade of the country, its important exports and imports, the easy means of communication, and various modes of transport that were available during the period. *Gavaras*, *settis*, *virabanagigas*, *manigars*, *nanadesis* and *Desakaras*, were some of the community of merchants, who like industrial classes were organised into guilds. Strongly entrenched behind the ramparts of communal or guild rights and privileges (*virabanagiga Dharma*) they were able to help each other against difficulties and robbery and impose heavy penalties on offenders for transgressions of guild regulations.¹ These guilds were bankers also, dealing with loans and deposits. Merchants who wandered from country to country in caravans using buffaloes or carts and pack animals, dealt largely in such articles as musk, saffron, mustard, turmeric, cotton, cloth, sandalwood, areca-nuts, forest produce, beryl, ghee, spices, horses, salt and precious stones. Though their journey was sometimes hazardous, subject to grave dangers of confiscation and molestation from

¹E. C. XI Hk; E. C. VII h 91.

robbers and wild forest tribes, the main roads called *Heddari* and cart tracks and small roads tributary to the main ones, were well preserved and zealously protected by local authorities. Weights and measures were systematised, but were not uniform throughout the country. There were well established commercial laws and practices and from *Krayapramana Patras* or contracts effected between individual or groups often in the presence of village assemblies, one can infer that a very high standard of commercial morality was maintained.

Jainism by insisting on the practice of universal virtues as honesty, truthfulness, justice and toleration, self-restraint and sanctity of animal life, had completely transformed the outlook of the people towards animate and inanimate creation and to a denunciation of bloody sacrifices and rituals. The religion also made people very abstemious in habits and food. Though few inscriptions speak of the nature of the food that was taken by the people, it was probably both in country and town, unleavened bread with boiled vegetables, clarified butter or oil and spices. The inferior castes ate meat along with vegetables and spices. Drunkenness was confined to them because it was a matter of natural propensity with them. The poor and the rich alike chewed

Food and
Drink.

betel with the hard nut of areca mixed with a sort of lime made from shells and with various spices, according to one's means. Some of the sweet-meats as *holige*, *laddu*, *seekarane*, *unde*, seem to have been popular among the people, as borne out by Parsva Pandita in his Parsva-natha Purana.¹ A class of brahmins are described as well versed in the science of sacrifices (*Yagna Vidhya*), devoted to the study of *shadangas* and performance of the six duties and as incessant drinkers of the Soma juice (*avichchina Soma pitabhyam*).² With the decline of Jainism in the country and the establishment of Hoysala sovereignty with Vaishnavite persuasion and the revival of rituals and sacrifices, animal food seems to have been revived and indulged in by the kings and the nobility too. Onions, countryfowls, pigs, and the flesh of bears, elephants, pigeons, horses, dogs, and animals used in sacrifices were forbidden in eating. Culinary experts (*Mamsapakavisharada*) who could prepare varieties of flesh were employed in the palace.³

The princes and the nobility lavished their hospitality on entertainments and harmless amusements. The king often held *darbars*,

¹ R. Narasimhachar: *Kavicharite* Vol. I., P. 327.

² M.A.R. 1912. P. 66.

³ *Abhilashitarta Chintamani*; 136-7.

Pomp and
entertain-
ments of
the King.

and invited people of all classes to witness his pomp and pageantry. He would seat himself on the throne in the durbar hall, filled with men enveloped with cotton fabrics, ornaments, garlands and scents, and attended with fly-whisk bearers. From the sculptural representations in temples, and references in contemporary chronicles, it is clear that the ladies of the harem appeared without veil in the open durbar, and sat in the rear of the throne. The priest, *amatyas*, *mantris*, princes, and *sachivas* who came with suitable dress and ornaments were assigned a place of distinction. Samantas, mandaladhipatis, lords of countries, heroes and feudatories occupied the right and left side in front of the king, while officers of districts and of villages, Dharmadikarins and officers in charge of market rates, weights, and measures, passports, roads, infantry, body-guard, elephants, horses and chariots, of education, musical instruments, of mines, of liquor, also adorned the durbar decked with all the magnificent trappings suited to their respective positions in the official hierarchy. There were the loyal servants holding vases of betel leaves and nuts, or holding drawn swords, alert and raptly attentive. Poets, singers, heralds, dancers, conversationalists, *ankamallas* noted for their bravery, and men of

sanctity, *bhattas*, soothsayers, were others who attended upon the king and received his hospitality.¹ On such great and auspicious occasions the nobility appeared dressed in cotton coats with long arms, jewelled head dresses with golden ornaments and *Karnavatamsa* or earrings. Normally men wore a waist cloth and a dhoti, and left their breasts unprotected. Complete clothing with head-dress was insisted upon in durbars and royal occasions. Men wore their hair tied up to a knot behind.

The king observed the *Tulābhara* ceremony and weighed himself against precious metals, during the celebration of his birthday.² *Hiranyagarbha* and *Tulapurasha* gifts were made to brahmins on such august occasions.³ Decorations and titles were conferred on prominent publicmen, on generals with great military distinctions, the most dignified of which was the *Patta* or the golden band to be worn on the forehead.⁴ Another high distinction that was bestowed upon celebrated generals and officials was the *Ganda-Pendara* an anklet worn on the right leg.⁵ Valuable presents as elephants

¹ Abilashitarta Chintamani: II Sarga Slokas, 1216-80.

² E. C. V Ak. 102.

³ E. C. V Ak. 108.

⁴ E. C. VIII Sa. 80. A.A.R. 1919, P. 63-68.

⁵ E. C. V Bl. 112.

chariots, and endowments of land were made along with decorations as a mark of royal favour.¹ *Todar* and *Pende* jewelled anklets embossed with medallions and worn on the left leg, were bestowed on *Garudas* who wore them as a pledge of unflinching loyalty and devotion, together with the determination to die with the master and not survive him. Physicians celebrated for their knowledge of medicine (*Nutana Vaidyakala*)² scholars learned in writing several languages, and writing with both hands, and for performing a hundred *avadhanas* (mnemonic feats),³ *asukavis*, *Satavadhanis*, poets who composed extempore and in short time, *Salaki* Acharyas, experts in stichomancy in answering questions by putting a stick into a palm leaf book at random and finding a suitable passage,⁴ were also the recipients of gifts of land and honour from the king.

The king usually had many wives who performed sati at his death. A numerous harem guarded by hunchbacks and oldmen maintained by the Hoysala king Narasimha may not be too fragmentary an evi-

¹ E. C. V Ak. 108.

² E. C. V Ak. 8-14.

³ E. C. VII Cl. 64.

⁴ Pampa Adipurana III Asvasa 21.

dence to bear out its popularity in the country in the early period. He had female attendants who guarded his inner apartments and carried fly-whisks as one of the insignias of royalty. The queen and women of the royal family and the nobility observed a certain amount of seclusion. Companions of the queen and servants were capable of writing and arranging little scenes for the amusement of royalty. Women were held in high respect. Education was common among women of the higher classes and they were taught¹ arithmetic, grammar, poetry, prosody, and fine arts. The princesses are mentioned in inscriptions as being great scholars and patronesses of poets and learned men. Some of the queens brought up precocious children and later on, in spite of their low status in life married them into the royal family and conferred on them high ministerial positions.² They were also remarkable for their religious fervour and distribution of charity.³ At the height of Jaina religion, culture and

¹ *Ibid* VIII, Asvasa, 59-60.

² Ganitavanmi Yedagaialli baredu torisi

Svayambhu Vabhidana Pada Vidhya chchandro

Vichitya lankara galam

Vangumayamumam, Samasta kata kalapamumam,

—VIII Asvasa 59-60.

³ E. C. II SB. 143.

education, rectitude and piety, liberality and charity, had come to permeate all sections of the people, engendering in them devotion for the faith and practice of austerities. *Seela* and *Vinaya* were considered to be the true mark of sound education¹ and Jainism insisted upon the cultivation of these virtues. Some women of the nobility were renowned for their learning in medicine,² for intelligence and influence, and for the exposition of high ethical and philosophical truths. A few earned *Vibhutipatta*, a mark of high distinction for erudition and scholarship.³ We learn from inscriptions, of highly cultured and educated women who renounced the world with all its joys and took shelter at the sacred feet of Jina and acquired the true inner vision. Many women earned a high and honourable place in society as great educationists and devotees of religion, and as the most efficient instruments for promoting the solidarity of the religious organisation and successful propagation of the faith among the multitude.

Fine arts as dancing, singing and instrumental music were considered to

¹ Pampa Adipurana: VIII Asvama 58.

² E. C. II 124-129.

³ E. C. V Ak. 108. M.A.R. 1912, 58.

be a great accomplishment among women of noble families.¹ The musical instruments that were in use then, were the flute, *samudraghosa*, *Katu-Mukha Vadhitra* (a kind of trumpet), the band of five instruments as *tantri*, *tal*, *nakara*, *bije*, *jhanjh* and *turya*, *veena* and *drum*.²

Dancing was accompanied by singing, drum and instrumental music. Proficiency in several types of dancing as *Bharathi*, *satvaki*, *kaisike*, *arabhate*, and different kinds of pose and expression of feeling was considered to be a mark of distinction.³ Bhuchaladevi, a perfect dancer attracted the king by her dance and won the king as well as titles of *Patrajagudale* (head of the world of dancers).⁴ Dancing halls with stone pavements in courts and temples were constructed and embellished by kings, and often, from donations by the rich who were great patrons and

¹ E. C. Ng. 32; M.A.R. 1932. 45.

² Pampa Adipurana II Asvasa; 9 E. C. V Kd 179.

IX Asvasa 15, 18, 26, 28; I. A. V. P. 35.

³ Bharati, Satvaki, Kaisike,

Yarabhatayumemba Vrittiol rasamam San|

Charisuva bhavavam yi|

Stirisuva bedangu bere Neetanganeya

Bharata gamadol muvateradaneya Negaldam gaharamum
nurentum.||

—Pampa. *Ibid* IX Asvasa 26-28.

⁴ E. C. VIII Sh 97.

promoters of music, dancing and decorative arts.¹

Noble damsels were also taught painting and decoration (*Alekya krama*) and the use of brush, pure and colour paints and needle.² One of the fascinating contents of the art of painting which because of its emotional value had come to be largely utilised for ethical purposes, was portraiture. The portraits were "expressions of form, recollection of appearances and delineation of character," in so far they attempted to establish the identity of individuals, partly by rendering their features, and partly by other associations essential for their identification—a motif which was maintained up to a very late period. *Chitra Phalakas* or prepared mediums applied over-slabs of *terra cotta* stone or pieces of wood, approximately a board, and colour boxes with brush, were used for painting. The vastness of conception, force of expression, perfect grace, and complete mastery of the materials of the painter revealed in the Ajanta frescoes not by any means an isolated instance of contemporary painting, testify to centuries of artistic development which contributed to the making of such

¹ E. C. III. Cm 160; Tn 87; E. C. II. 335; VII Sk 105.

² Abhilashitartha Chintamani: P. 195, 201, 282.

precious mural documents in the life of the nation. For the painting of animals and birds and for representations of human scenes, the artists found their inspiration in the human and animal life surrounding them. Cave painting as at Ajanta, or at Sittanavasal near Pudukottai, is the earliest document in the art of the country followed later by painting and decorations of gods and goddesses with colourful dress and ornaments upon palm leaf manuscripts in which the Jains specialised.¹ The students of painting were introduced to the study of portraiture and picture drawing along with music and other fine arts.²

The dress of women was nearly the same as it is to-day, but only larger and longer sarrees and bodices of various bright colours were worn by them. The dancing girls wore breeches, to facilitate freedom of locomotion or free movement of the body.³ Various ornaments as jewelled girdles, necklaces, ear-rings and bracelets and several kinds of cosmetics were used to enhance beauty of expression. The body and cheeks were anointed with saffron paste to keep them cool and golden. It was a mark of beauty to have long

¹ Journal of Indian Art XV P. 91.

² Abhilashitartha Chintamani: P. XI.

³ M.A.R. 1910-11. P. 8.

almond eyes unduly elongated and often reaching from ear to ear, and they were adorned with collyrium. A pretty touch of freshness was given to black curly locks for which the maidens of Karnataka were famous, by a wreath of flowers and scents and perfumes.

Polygamy was not uncommon in the higher strata of society. Marriage was a matter of religious necessity rather than of individual choice though the custom of *Svayamvara* was occasionally observed by princesses,¹ as borne out by Chandralekha's choice of Vikramadeva and Punnata's princess's choice of Avinita. The absorption of foreign and aboriginal races into the new hinduism, and the great religious movements of the period which tended to reconcile the jarring strife of sectarianism in a broad religious philosophy, and bring the north and south closer together in a linguistic, literary and social sense, had created new social groupings, a large number of new castes, and new conventions about occupations and intermarriages. Probably this explains the prevalence of inter-marriages between brahmins and Jains² and people of different religious persuasions. The Jains observed six-

Ceremonies
of marriage.

¹ Bilhana: Vikramadeva charita, 38.

² E. C. II SB. 126: XII Tm. 19.

teen ceremonials, very similar to the brahmins, the principal of which were as *Garbhadana*, *Pumsavana*, *Simanta-karma*, *Jatak-karma*, *Namakarana*, *Annaprasana*, *Chudopanayana* (the ceremony of tonsure), *Upanayana*, *Sastra-bhyasa*, *Samavartana* (the return of a student on the completion of his studies under a teacher), *vivaha* and *Antya Karma*.¹

Marriages were performed with many ceremonies, the essential parts of which were, the joining of hands of bride and bridegroom; and pouring water over their hands with a golden kalasa; and the bride taking seven steps, particular texts being repeated for each, at the end of which the marriage was declared indissoluble.² The couple were then presented with garments, gems, jewels, elephants, horses, cows, servants and lands to the accompaniment of instrumental music and singing of the songs of heraldry. Presentation of garments and gold to brahmins, sumptuous entertainments and dinner and betel leaves and nuts, were made on all the four days at the end of which the bridegroom and bride decked with ornaments and mounted on a richly caparisoned elephant were

¹ Mackenzie Asiatic Researches: IX Pp. 247; I.A. XXXII 460.

² Colebrooke Asiatic Researches: VII 303, 309.

taken in procession through the main streets of the city glowing with illuminations.¹ With polygamy, enforced widowhood and early marriage, the social life of a vast majority of women did not differ materially from that of their sisters of to-day. Along with music and dancing, which to a great extent relieved the languor and monotony of domestic life, the girls recreated themselves in games as *Annekal*, *Tirekal* in which pebbles were tossed up and caught so that while one was in the air, the other was picked up. The younger girls exhibited *Kolatam* on certain occasions to the entertainment of the multitude.

Hunting, wrestling and acrobatics seem to have been the favourite pastimes of the king and the people. One of the inscriptions of 982 A.D. describes the unparalleled skill displayed by Rashtrakuta Indra in a game at ball, probably Polo indicated by the mention of the use of horses in the game. "Indra alone is capable on earth of making the various movements such as *Sukhara*, *Dushkara*, *Vishama* and *Vishama Dushkara*, in the four directions; who knows like Ratta Kandarappa, the beauty of making movements with great velocity inside, outside, to the right and

Games and
amusements.

¹ Abhilashitartha Chintamani: 12 Sarga Sl. 1488, 1552.

to the left without missing the circuit, avoiding such defects as going in a circle, ascending, turning round and retreating and hitting exactly the ball (*girige*) with the stick, neither going beyond nor coming short of it ?”¹

The higher classes often recreated themselves in their beautiful orchards and groves where, the trellised walks closely covered with highly scented flowers and slender stems and impervious shades of areca and champak trees and the gushing of little rills, afforded dark and cool retreats, profound silence and repose, from the intolerable glare of the sun.² Often in summer, the king and the princes had an elaborate bath in *Snana-grihas* constructed of black-marble or crystal, and *ankakaras* massaged their bodies and fair maidens rubbed them with scented oils, mixed with different herbs, and treated them with lukewarm water.³

The outdoor amusements of the townspeople probably were confined to those at fairs (*sante*) and festival, where they congregated in large numbers and entered into it with infinite relish and every sign of peaceful festivity and enjoyment. Even, in pilgrimages to temples, though the long anticipation of worship to

1 E. C. SB 133; M.A.R. 1921. P. 48.

2 Pampa Adipurana: 6 Asvasa 95.

3 Abhilashitartha Chintamani P. 282.

be performed, the example of other pilgrims invoking the god aloud, and the sanctity of the place, concurred in producing the strongest feelings of devotion, still the feeling of amusement was much stronger than that of religious zeal.

The temples were supported by the state, endowments from benevolent citizens, and contributions from different industrial and commercial classes. The heavy expenditure that was saddled to the budget of the temple in the maintenance of a large establishment inclusive of a body-guard, dancers, cooks, drummers, *remsigas*, goldsmiths, decorators, *pergade*, *puranikas*, and Acharyas, was partly met by visiting fees, tolls levied on merchants and farmers, interest on endowments, taxes on articles,¹ and partly by guilds of oil mongers, rice merchants and others who supplied perpetually oil, rice and other requisites to the temple.² The apprehension of being doomed to eternal perdition and their race becoming extinct coerced the merchants to be strict in the maintenance of endowments.³

¹ V BL. 137. 236.

² V BL. 114.

³ II SB 336.

A prodigious concourse of people always gathered on festive occasions in temples in which music, dancing, pantomime, lectures, displays, acrobatic feats, in spite of the religious character of festivals, did a great deal to relieve the humdrum monotony of life. The great festivals were of the *Uttarayana*, *Dakshinayana*, *Chaitra*, *Tulapurusha*,¹ *Suggi* and *Dipavali*,¹ and *Nulu Habba*² among weavers, when *Vibhuti*, and *Vilya* were offered to God, and worship, decorations, illumination and ablutions were performed.³ The dripping pot, a kind of mechanism for reading time, seems to have been provided for, in the temples, so that the authorities could conduct their morning, noon and evening prayers regularly.⁴

The love of magic and the supernatural and the marvellous, and belief in the potency of mantras and tantras seem to have been strong in the popular mind. Probably with a view to guard the cattle against famine and epizootic diseases, the kings set up *yantra* stones all over the country, with mystical diagrams carved on them—thirty-two small squares, with thirty-two letters of what was

¹ V Ak 180.

² V Hs 64.

³ V BL 124.

⁴ E. C. V. Hn 73.

called a *sarvatobhadra* verse, and the syllable *hrim* repeated twelve times.¹ Mantravadins were employed for exorcising of spirits.² Different kinds of medicines were prepared for curing ills of the body and mind and even stupidity.³ Some kind of collyrium when applied to the eyes was believed to give ability to discover hidden treasure.⁴ Sights of conflagration, black cloth, oil, naked monks, dishevelled women, mutilated and blind people; cobra and hare were considered to be very inauspicious, while making a journey. People instinctively credulous, believed in the prognostications of the sooth-sayers. Sudra mendicants appeared early in the morning at the doors of houses with a small rattle drum in their hands and ascribed their predictions to Pingala birds consulted before dawn.⁵

The large number of *mastikals* of elaborate workmanship discovered all over the country, with different panels depicting women encircled by flames, or a raised hand projecting from its right extremity and bearing a lime

Sati and
other kinds
of self-
immolation.

¹ M.A.B. 1917 P. 42.

² III Nr. 254, 258.

³ R. Narasimhachar Kavicharite: Vol. I, P. 119.

⁴ E. C. XI Qg. 25.

⁵ Abhilashitartha Chintamani: P. 124 Intro. P. XI.

fruit between the thumb and the forefinger, point to the widespread practice of sati or self immolation.¹ The hopes of immediately entering on the enjoyment of heaven, and of entitling the husband to the same felicity, as well as, the glory, attending such a voluntary sacrifice, were powerful inducements to excite the enthusiasm of women for going through the awful trial. Inscriptions bear witness to more than human serenity of *sati*, her gentle demeanour, her care to omit nothing in distributing her last presents and paying the usual marks of courtesy to relations and bystanders, her going through all ceremonies with astonishing composure and presence of mind and apparent insensibility to the terrors and agonies of death by fire. Jain *Sravakis* and nuns endowed with ascetic qualities often starved themselves to death by the rites of *Sallekhana*.² Persons under vow or lingering under incurable disorders performed self immolation by leaping into fire, or by plunging into a river and by other modes.

Vows of self-sacrifice were undertaken by royal servants and chiefs with the object of attesting undying attachment and fidelity to

¹ M.A.R. 1915 P. 35; E. C. V Ak 81; III Md. 103; IV Ng 96.

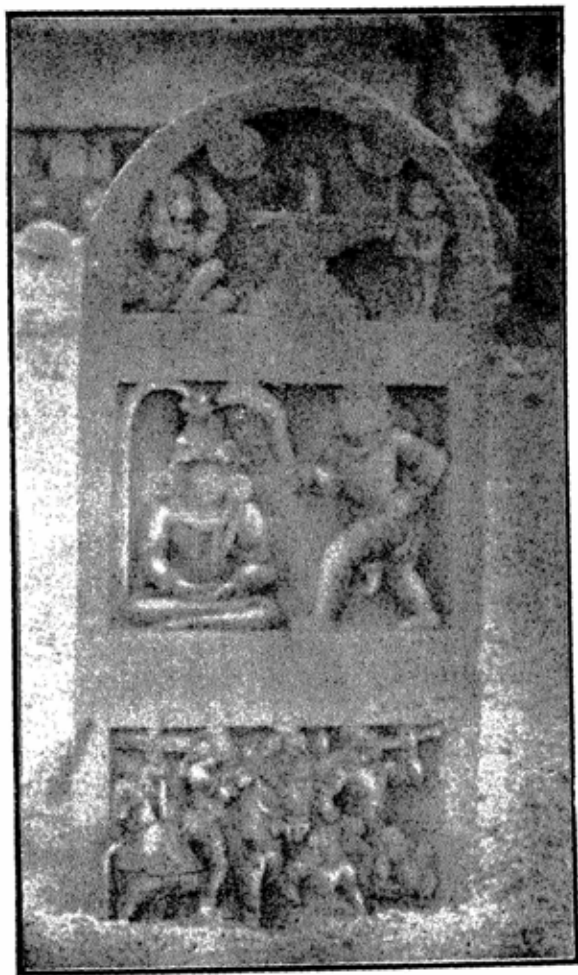
² M.A.R. 1912; P. 75; 1914, P. 65.

their master, and these were accomplished either by entering into fire and being burnt to death, or buried alive under the master's body, and becoming thus *Kilgunthe*.¹ Vows of self-destruction were not merely undertaken to vindicate love or fidelity for others, but sometimes in conformity to the fulfilment of a cherished desire. This is borne out in the vow of a cowherd to give his head "to swing on the pole before the Gods," if the king should obtain a son,² and that of a woman who promised to give up her life on the day of the death of her chief's mother. One of the inscriptions records the intrepidity and determination of a soldier to go on pulling out the nails of his fingers so long as the fort remained unrecovered from his enemy, and how, being discomfited by failure, he cut off his finger and threw himself down to death from the top of a *Bherunda* Pillar.³ Devoted servants who took a vow not to survive their master offered their heads to be cut off, on the occurrence of their master's death. The process of decapitation (*sidi-tale-godu*), or offering of the springing head, was ghastly, in so far the votary was seated close to an elastic

¹ E. C. III Tn. 91. V Ak 5, 27. Dg. 119.

² Cm 31; XI. Mk 12.

³ VII Sh 152.



A Virakal showing the process of decapitation—Sidi-tale-Godu
(By courtesy of the Director of Archaeological Researches, Mysore)

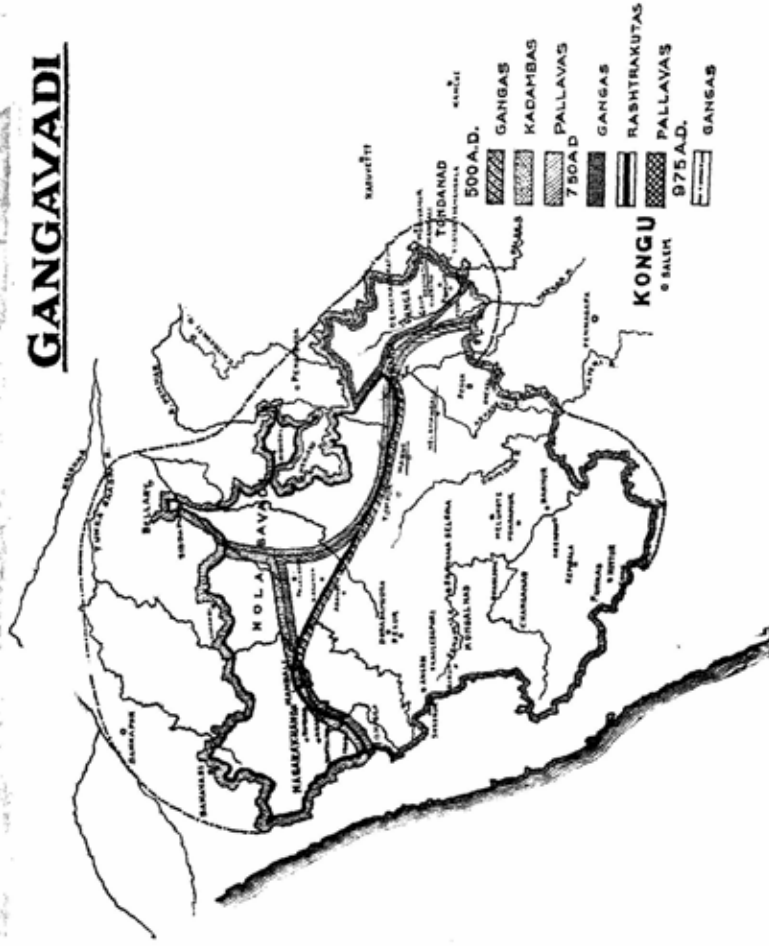
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rod or pole with its end attached to the topknot of his hair, so that the head when cut off, sprung with the rebound of the rod released from its tension.

From the glimpses we obtain of the life in Gangavadi, we realise that the people had reached a high degree of civilisation and culture. It has to be conceded that some kinds of revolting usages as *sati* and *Hook-swinging* prevailed in the country, that society remained normally at a dead level with no conspicuous objects to guide the course of the community. In spite of these discouragements, society was able to struggle against them and attain a high pitch. The administration was highly systematised, and its most remarkable feature was the great interest which village assemblies evinced in the discharge of their manifold functions. The state was a congeries of little republics whose constitution and general condition remained unaffected by war or revolution, or rapid rise and sudden changes of dynasties. The religion of the people was hardly a dogma, but a working hypothesis of human conduct adapted to different stages of spiritual development and different conditions of life, and as such there was no religious persecution of any kind for one's own profession. The great epoch between the seventh and the tenth centuries, was

the most fascinating one in the life of the country, full of colour and animation. This was characterised with a lavishness of wealth, of life, of beauty, of colour, of display, and prodigal enjoyment of light and sunshine, as opposed to the old sober notions of dress, dwelling and of life ; with a general burst of delight in the new resources of thought and language which literature felt to be at its disposal ; with a reproduction of the passion, caprice, largeness of feeling and sympathy and quick pulse of delight of the age in art, architecture and sculpture.

GANGAVADI



Map of Gangavadi showing the growth of the Kingdom under Madhava Sripurusha and Marasimha



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